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TO THE EARNEST CONSIDERATION OF YOUNG MORMONS, AND TO THE CAUSE OF POLITICAL LIBERTY IN UTAH AND IN THOSE OTHER STATES AND TERRITORIES RULED BY THE MORMON "PROPHETS," THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY AND RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY

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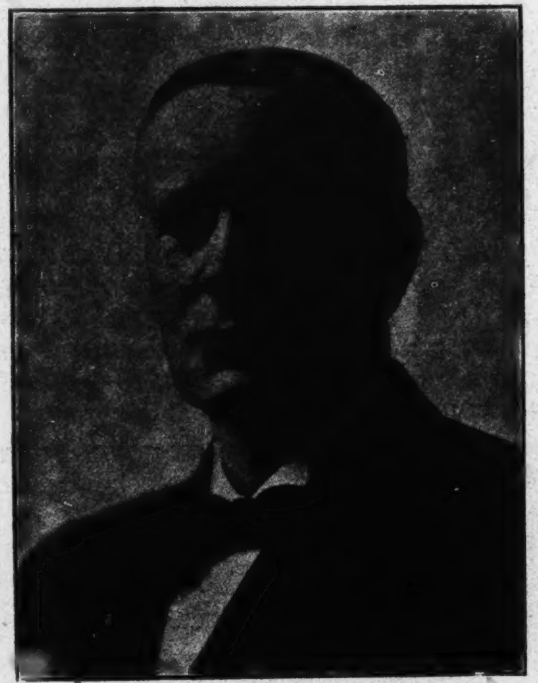

THE AUTHOR, JOSIAH F. GIBBS

Lights and Shadows
of
Mormonism

J. F. GIBBS

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1909

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Prefatory and Personal 11

CHAPTER I

Introduction 17

CHAPTER II

Foreword and Explanation 20

CHAPTER III

Joseph Smith's Ancestry—Belief in Dreams, Visions and Miracles are Dominant Traits of Character 23

CHAPTER IV

Joseph Smith, The Youth—His Environment—Materialism—Other Doctrines as Natural Sequences 35

CHAPTER V

Joseph Smith, the Prophet—His First Vision—Moroni Delivers the Gold Plates—Persecution 40

CHAPTER VI

The Book of Mormon—Historical Synopsis. Jaredites . . . 53

CHAPTER VII

Church Organization Effected—Its Political Status Defined by the Prophets 58

CHAPTER VIII

Missouri, the Original Garden of Eden—Present "Land of Zion," and Future Site of the "New Jerusalem" 65

CHAPTER IX

Saints Colonize Missouri—Expulsion 72

CHAPTER X

PAGE

Hospitable Illinois—Missouri Exiles Tenderly Cared for . . . 89

CHAPTER XI

Nauvoo, the New "Land of Zion"—Charter Granted—"Nauvoo Legion" 92

CHAPTER XII

Polygamy—Evidences of Existence—Evidences Repudiated by "Reorganized" Church 96

CHAPTER XIII

The Mormon Church, a Political Organization—Evidences Quoted 107

CHAPTER XIV

Growth of Nauvoo—More Politics—Ex-Governor Boggs Shot—More Trouble for Prophet. 112

CHAPTER XV

Curtain is Rung Down—The Prophet and Party Go to Carthage—Weakness, if not Cowardice, of Governor Ford—Joseph and Hyrum Smith Assassinated—John Taylor Badly Wounded . 121

CHAPTER XVI

Brigham Young Succeeds Joseph Smith—Saints Again Expelled. Nauvoo to the Missouri River 138

CHAPTER XVII

Truth about the "Mormon Battalion"—Missouri River to Santa Fe 145

CHAPTER XVIII

The Land of the Setting Sun—Lewis and Clarke Expedition. Bridger, Bonneville, and Others 150

CHAPTER XIX

Utah as It Was, and Is—Topography—Geology—Lake Bonneville—Mineral Resources 155

CHAPTER XX

Crossing the Plains—Route of the Saints—Arrival in Salt Lake Valley 158

CHAPTER XXI

PAGE

Utah—Sketch of Early Days—First Effort at Plowing—Famine—Sea Gulls Save Crops—"Dry-Land" Farming . . . 162

CHAPTER XXII

Synopsis, 1850-1852—Imperium in Imperio Established. Civil Law Subordinate to Revelation 166

CHAPTER XXIII

Brigham Young's Indian Policy—Gunnison Massacre One of the Results 176

CHAPTER XXIV

Civil Government by the Prophet—Social Life in Utah—Stealing and Lying, Whoredoms—Blood Atonement 190

CHAPTER XXV

Mountain Meadows Massacre—Legitimate Result of Doctrine of Unquestioning Obedience and Blood Atonement—Personnel of Assassins—Scene of the Massacre—Details of the Crime . 208

CHAPTER XXVI

The "Morrisite Rebellion"—Competition Among Prophets—Killing of Morris and Banks 242

CHAPTER XXVII

Whiskey—Its Manufacture and Consumption by the Saints—Driveling Hypocrisy 247

CHAPTER XXVIII

Treason 254

CHAPTER XXIX

Hard Sledding for Utah Polygamy—The "Underground"—Three Alternatives—Amusing Incidents 256

CHAPTER XXX

Ostensible Surrender of Polygamy. Prophets Put Their Deity in a Hole 270

CHAPTER XXXI

PAGE

Prophets Appeal for Amnesty—Obtained Under False Pretenses—Unparalleled Treachery 282

CHAPTER XXXII

Unquestioning Obedience—Testimony of President Joseph F. Smith and Apostle F. M. Lyman 297

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Prophets' All-Embracing Conspiracy 314

CHAPTER XXXIV

Saints Divide on National Political Lines—Truculency of the Saints—Subserviency of Many Gentiles 321

CHAPTER XXXV

The Prophets in Politics—Apostle John Henry Smith—In the Pulpit and on the Stump—Aids Ex-Governor Murphy of Arizona . 331

CHAPTER XXXVI

The Prophets in Politics (Apostle Francis M. Lyman) . . . 337

CHAPTER XXXVII

The Prophets in Politics (President Joseph F. Smith)—Beginning of the Fight against Apostle Moses Thatcher 346

CHAPTER XXXVIII

"Nuggets of Truth"—Contemptible Political Methods of Church-Republican Party 359

CHAPTER XXXIX

Joseph F. Smith "Waves the Bloody Shirt"—Samples of "Inspired" "Political" Hog-Wash Ladled out to the Saints 364

CHAPTER XL

Gum-Shoers in Politics 378

CHAPTER XLI

Congressional Campaign of 1892—Frank J. Cannon is Defeated—Joseph L. Rawlins is Elected 383

CHAPTER XLII

Political Incidents of 1893 and of 1894—The Prophets Succeed in Placing Utah in the Republican Column 394

CHAPTER XLIII

PAGE

Issues Sharply Drawn—Political Freedom or Slavery? Rule of "Consent" Introduced by the Prophets 402

CHAPTER XLIV

Halt in Democratic Campaign—Uprising of the Mormons . . 410

CHAPTER XLV

Democratic Reconvened Convention 419

CHAPTER XLVI

Democratic Campaign Resumed—Prophets Again Victorious . 446

CHAPTER XLVII

Apostle Moses Thatcher Deposed 449

CHAPTER XLVIII

Free Silver Wave Carries Utah Democracy into Power—Would They Stand for Liberty, or Would they Surrender? 458

CHAPTER XLIX

Democracy's Shameful Surrender to the Pledge-breaking Prophets 462

CHAPTER L

Democracy's Last Victory 480

CHAPTER LI

Human Contrasts—Thomas Kearns Versus Reed Smoot . . . 484

CHAPTER LII

Human Contrasts—Reed Smoot Versus Thomas Kearns . . . 490

CHAPTER LIII

Reed Smoot Announces His Candidacy for U. S. Senate . . . 498

CHAPTER LIV

Organized Opposition to Apostle Reed Smoot 504

CHAPTER LV

Senate Admits Reed Smoot—Investigation Follows 509

CHAPTER LVI

Non-Mormons Repudiate Joseph Smith's Allegation of Condonement—Opposition Crystallizes into Organization of American Party 520

CHAPTER LVII

Synopsis of Political Events, 1904 to 1909 526

PREFATORY AND PERSONAL

The initial thought in connection with the writing of this volume was to assemble the evidences relating to the political perfidy of the Mormon "prophets," and to make a brief statement of the political incidents in Utah from 1890 to 1909.

The underlying motive was to prove that the continuous asseverations of the Mormon press and speakers to the effect that the prophets were not in politics are absolutely false.

The falsehoods uttered and diligently circulated throughout the United States, and testified to under oath by the prophets during the "Smoot" investigation, relative to the non-interference of the Mormon leaders in politics, were so interwoven with their treachery in the matter of polygamy, that one phase of the subject could not be discussed without trenching upon the other.

To make the subject intelligible to those unacquainted with the true inwardness of the Mormon theo-political imperium in imperio, an explanatory foundation was necessary. Every effort to find a starting place short of the very beginning of the system was fruitless. But a consecutive history of the rise and growth of Mormonism, no matter how condensed, would be too voluminous for the objective subject-matter of the work. It was therefore decided to discuss only those high-lights of the subject which bear more directly on the political aspect of Mormonism, and to introduce sufficient general details to keep the story intelligibly consecutive.

In the matters of construction and diction, it is cheerfully conceded that the following pages are not bomb-proof to Mormon criticism. But the entire Mormon hierarchy, their servile tools and professional liars, are challenged to disprove the truth of the evidences of their unparalleled duplicity, and the legitimacy and justice of the conclusions and criticisms.

PERSONAL

There are always legitimate questions arising in the minds of readers of a work like this, as to the personality of the author, his antecedents, his reliability, his opportunities for investigating the subject with which he deals, and the motive which impelled him to undertake the work. That those very natural questions may be answered, the following is cheerfully and respectfully submitted:

I was born in 1845, in Nauvoo, Illinois. My father, William Gibbs, was born in Vermont. My grandfather, Josiah Gibbs, was a veteran of the war of 1812.

My mother, Eliza Dana, was a daughter of Francis Dana, son of Francis Dana, of Massachusetts.

During 1845, father aided in completing the carpenter work on the Mormon temple at Nauvoo, and assisted in defending the city from the mob that subsequently expelled the Mormons from Illinois.

In the spring of 1847 father moved to Mt. Pisgah, Iowa, where he remained four years and then moved to Alden, McHenry county, Illinois. It was in Alden that the austere "school-marms" of those early days "birched" into me the rudiments of the three "r's."

In 1857 father and his family "crossed the plains," following up the Mormons, and arrived in Salt Lake City in September, a few days after the perpetration of the atrocious Mountain Meadows massacre.

In January, 1858, father joined the general "retreat" before "Johnston's army," and the following spring returned to Salt Lake City where he worked at carpentry.

In 1859 father entered the employ of President Brigham Young and helped build the famous Salt Lake Theatre. It was at that time that I began my apprenticeship to the carpenter's trade.

In 1861 President Young sent father down to his "Forest" farm, four miles south of the city, where, during 1861 and 1862, he built a large farm house for the President.

On Saturdays we were sure of a visit of from one to a half dozen of President Young's girls, who made it a rule to be at the farm whenever convenient. Those products of plural marriage were perfect specimens of healthful, robust girlhood, full of romping, joyous life, and, withal, pure, guileless and unsophisticated. My acquaintance with the girls soon ripened into a strong and lasting friendship. I soon became an apparently welcome visitor to President Young's "Lion House" residence, and more especially to the apartments of "Aunt" Zina

D. H. Young, whose gentleness of nature endeared her to every one who had the pleasure of her acquaintance. I soon learned to love her as a second mother, and today her sweet personality is one of the cherished memories of my life.

As a boy can be acquainted with a man, I knew President Young, who, barring his unyielding and inexplicable fanaticism, was "every inch a man." During nearly two years father and I were once-a-week night guards, under the direction of "Uncle" Joseph Schofield, at the Lion and Beehive residences of President Young.

In 1863 father moved to Fillmore, Millard county, one hundred and fifty miles south of Salt Lake City. Millard was one of the "cow" counties, and I soon added "broncho-busting" to my other limited accomplishments.

In 1864 father took me with him to Adamsville in Beaver county, where we built a rude air-pumping apparatus for an iron furnace or smelter. We were then near the scene of the Mountain Meadows massacre, and there were then living in Beaver City, several men who participated in that terrible affair. And I yet vividly remember the expression of hopeless dejection which characterized their appearance and movements. Our employer, a Mr. Stewart, had in his possession a brindle cow which was pointed out to me as one of the survivors of the four hundred head of cattle taken from the emigrants. One of the employees on the Stewart ranch at Adamsville was a man named "Nate" Dodge, from southern Utah, who was familiar with the details of the massacre. He appeared to take delight in pouring the horrid story into my ears, and in singing a lot of doggerel composed on the massacre, and which began as follows: "In splendor from the mountains some thirteen wagons came." Night after night I listened to the story until it burned into my memory. And with what Charley Fancher had told me in the early summer of 1858, I knew that white men were the leaders in the massacre and that wholesale lying was being resorted to in order to shield the guilty. I did not, however, then know the relationship that existed between the doctrine of unquestioning obedience, the law of blood-atonement and the "reformation" which was still being impressed upon the Latter-day Saints. Subsequently I visited the "Meadows" and camped on the ground where those one hundred and twenty betrayed men, women and children were butchered in obedience to the orders of the presiding priesthood of Iron county. Notwithstanding the massacre was a legitimate subject of discussion, and a result of the doctrine and policy just mentioned, there was merely a bare reference to it in the first draught of this story. The details were so appalling that I hesitated because of the dislike to being charged with appealing to the passions of the public. However, for reasons not necessary to state, I was induced to give the uncolored facts of the massacre which will be found in Chapter XXV.

In 1866 I was out on two expeditions against Chief Black Hawk and his band who had ravaged the northern part of Millard county, killed a man and boy and driven off several hundred head of cattle and horses.

In 1867 I was "called" on a mission to England where I remained a little over two years. In the matter of broadening my views of life and salvation, that mission was a godsend to me.

On my return I began the study of geology, then read Darwin's works, and later on began an enthusiastic study of Herbert Spencer's synthetic philosophy. Very naturally that line of study did not strengthen my faith in "exclusive" salvation. But I staggered along and hugged to my soul the thought that I could "harmonize" many of the doctrines of Mormonism with the teachings of science.

Thus it went on until the "division" on political lines in 1891. Then my real trouble with the prophets began. As the years went by their double-dealing and treachery first incensed, then disgusted me, until my former respect for them was transformed into contempt and loathing. As a country editor, I opposed the presence of prophets in politics, and did all I could to discredit their work, which continued without abatement.

In 1906 I joined the American party, and occasionally broke into the newspapers with some rather bitter criticisms of Joseph F. Smith and others of the political prophets.

In March, 1907, the twenty-first quorum of seventy cited me to trial for my fellowship on the charge of "apostasy," based on "general neglect of duty" and on my "public utterances regarding President Joseph F. Smith and others of the church leaders." My quorum disfellowshipped me, and the "high-council" of the Millard stake of Zion completed the program by excommunication. It served me right; I had been an apostate from the day when, in 1871, I first resented the domination of the Mormon priesthood in politics.

During the fifty-one years in which I have intimately associated with the Mormon people, I have seen all the lights and shadows of Mormonism; I have partaken of the good there is in it, and have drunk to the very dregs of its bitterness. But there is no feeling, other than that of kindness toward a people whose only fault is unquestioning credulity.

And now for the motive for the publication of this book.

After I had been excommunicated, I began a careful study of the so-called "revelations," and of the early history of Joseph Smith and of the church which he founded. Except as to the Book of Mormon, I had taken little interest in them since my mission in England. Months were consumed in a close and unbiased investigation. Those things which appealed to me as truths during my boyhood, became glaringly inconsistent under the analysis to which I subjected them, and I was surprised that I had not theretofore discovered the thinly disguised deception. The new verdict was arrived at by a process of reasoning. It was the operation of a mature mind versus the impressions of childhood.

The past fifteen years have been largely devoted to fighting the political encroachments of the prophets on the civil rights of the people. And the remainder of my life, so far as may be practicable, will be devoted to combating the Mormon swamp light on a broader plane than that of its political phase.

My own time and money have been spent in the compilation of the facts and in the preparation of the subject-matter of the following pages. One trusted friend has been consulted from time to time on the fitness of some of the material. And, therefore, whatever of criticism, or of condemnation of the work, may be made, should fall on me, and me alone.

With sincere friendship for the Mormon people, but with inexpressible contempt for their "prophets,"

I am respectfully,

JOSIAH FRANCIS GIBBS.

Salt Lake City,
March 15th, 1909.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When the Revolutionary Fathers adopted the Constitution of the United States they believed that the safeguards which they had reared between the respective spheres of civil and religious activities would be ample for all time. The province of each of those moral forces was so clearly and sharply defined that it was thought no serious clash could be possible. And the religious forces of those years were such that the Fathers were justified in their belief.

Notwithstanding the safeguards which were thrown around the civil rights of the people, the Government of the United States is today confronted by a religio-political force which, if not sternly rebuked, rather than encouraged as it is, will become a problem of such complexity and magnitude as will tax the wisdom and strength of the Government to solve.

Even now the conflict between the civil and religious forces has become acute in the States of Utah and Idaho. With stealthy persistence this theo-civil power is creeping over the States of Wyoming, Nevada and Colorado, and is now the dominant political force in the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, which, in time, will be forced into the Union by that same ecclesiastical power which, by political intrigue, is compelling recognition in the Senate of the United States, and through that body is rapidly assuming a position of power under the protection of the Federal Government.

The conflict in Utah and Idaho is the most unique and unequal struggle of modern times.

On the religious side of the controversy is the Mormon church, which, under alleged divine authority, arrogates the right to control its adherents temporally as well as spiritually. And in political matters the large majority of the devotees to Mormonism, believing as they do in the specially divine origin of their religion, yield unquestioning obedience to the slightest wish, expressed or implied, of the fifteen "prophets, seers and revelators" who constitute the especially inspired governing body of the church.

On the civil-rights side of the controversy in Utah is the local American party composed of fully 20,000 men and women of nearly all political and religious creeds, races and color. Boiled down, the American party has but two planks in its platform. The first, and more important, is opposition to the political rule of the Mormon prophets. The second is unyielding opposition to the perpetuation of plural marriages, and to the continuation of sexual crimes, "under the color of polygamous marriage."

Before proceeding with the subject-matter of the following pages it will be well to more definitely introduce the peculiar organization which is the subject of such wide-spread interest and discussion.

Joseph Smith, the founder of so-called "Mormonism," died many years ago, but the remarkable religious system which he established exists and continues to exert a singularly powerful influence on human thought and action.

From six members which comprised the full strength of its organization on the 6th day of April, 1830, the "Church of Latter-day Saints" has increased to fully one-half million soul in this year of our Lord, 1909.

Seemingly immovably intrenched in this inter-mountain country, the Mormon church is supreme in its control of local industrial, social, and political matters. Its singularly perfect organization through which messages may be quickly transmitte from the fountain-head to the most obscure members residin in the remotest hamlets of its ecclesiastical empire, constitutes matter of self-felicitation to the Mormon leaders, and an almos impregnable barrier to the assaults of its opponents. Add t its compact organization the fact that the counsel, or advice, o its chief prophet, seer and revelator is absolute and final, an the other fact that all devout members recognize such counsel direct or implied, as being the voice of the very Eternal, an we have an organization so complete in its centralization of powe that its existence within a republic constitutes at once an anomaly and a menace.

The spirit and essence of its governmental policy may be clearly understood from the following terse rule laid down by the present chief prophet of the church:

"The fact of the matter is, when a man says, 'You may direct me spiritually, but not temporally,' he lies in the presence of God; that is, if he has got intelligence enough to know what he is talking about."—From sermon by President Joseph F. Smith, in Provo.—See Deseret *News* of May 20th, 1896.

By the exercise of the absolute power enunciated in the above quotation, and the unquestioning alacrity with which the Saints obey, the politics of Utah and Idaho is completely dominated by the Mormon priesthood, and men rewarded or punished according to the measure of their servility or independence. And through the Representatives and Senators from the States of Utah, Idaho and Wyoming, as already indicated, the Senate of the United States is being controlled in the interest of the religious system founded by Joseph Smith, "the Prophet," as he is affectionately and reverently called by Latter-day Saints.

Such, in briefest form, are the secular results of Joseph Smith's brief span of life. And the advocates of, as well as the opponents to, the peculiar religio-political system of which Joseph Smith was the founder will do themselves and the world a signal service by a critical study of the well-established laws of heredity and environment in their application to the seemingly inexplicable career of the "Nineteenth Century Prophet."

Those advocates of Joseph Smith's system, those who are capable of analytical reasoning, will discover in those laws a solution of all that is mysterious and seemingly supernatural in the remarkable achievements of their prophet. And by the application of those laws the opponents of the claimed supernatural gifts of Joseph Smith will be relieved from the necessity of further groping in the darkness of hypothesis for untenable solutions for the existence of the Book of Mormon upon which the entire fabric of Mormonism was builded.

To the discussion of the questions hereinbefore indicated, the following pages will be devoted.

CHAPTER II

A FOREWORD AND EXPLANATION

Sincere and intelligent men and women have often asked the writer, knowing him to have been a life-long member of the Church of Latter-day Saints, "Why is it that the labors of the various Christian missionaries among the Mormon people in Utah are so barren of results?" An answer to that very natural query will now be attempted.

The wondrous provisions of Nature for the existence and progress of men and women on this earth have impressed the great truth on nearly every mortal that a Supreme and Intelligent Power must have foreknown and provided for the subsistence, happiness and progress of human beings; that the world with all its utility and beauty "could not have come by chance." Our remote ancestors sensed the presence of Infinite Power in the lightning's flash, and heard His voice in the peals of thunder and in the rush and roar of the winds. To them, the Infinite Power was material. The human form and brain constituted the highest form of life and intelligence. Hence, in order to bring God nearer to them, and to propitiate His favor, they fashioned from wood and stone rude and grotesque images of human beings and worshipped them as representatives of the Mysterious Power they so clearly sensed in all the phenomena of Nature. It was realism against idealism.

As knowledge progressed and became differentiated and systematized the theretofore inexplicable natural phenomena were reduced to the simple law of cause and effect. When astronomers clearly proved that our earth, instead of being the central globe of the Universe, is merely an atom in the limitless domain of organized matter, and that each sun and world is subject to exact laws in its organization and motion, the necessity for special acts of "creation," and "guiding spirits" for the stars was banished from the thoughts of intelligent men and women. The gradual unfolding of the grandeur of the Universe, while not eliminating the belief in God as the Ultimate Power in a grander and profounder mystery, moved Him further away from the mental grasp of mortals.

Minds not trained to logical and consecutive reasoning have not kept pace with the achievements of scientific research. They have failed to grasp the grander and nobler thought, that the perfection of species, rather than individuals, is the object for which Nature, or Nature's God, is persistently working. The curse of selfishness has not yet been banished from the hearts of men to the extent that they can "do good for goodness' sake" —to sow that others may reap; to labor for the ultimate perfection of the race. For that reason they are struggling for immediate personal benefits in this life, and exaltation over their fellows in the life hereafter. They fail to grasp the sublime truth that in defiance of their selfish and exclusive salvation creeds, the Inscrutable Power is ever forcing the race upward to higher planes of existence, in which all the church are doing a magnificent work.

So-called "Mormonism," as the reader will understand as the system is unfolded, is a bid for personal and exclusive salvation and exaltation. Add to those inducements the natural correlation of pure materialism and we have a combination of doctrines that appeal with irresistible force to a certain order of minds.

GRANDMA SMITH, MOTHER OF THE PROPHET

CHAPTER III

BELIEF IN DREAMS, VISIONS AND MIRACLES ARE DOMINANT TRAITS OF CHARACTER—JOSEPH SMITH'S ANCESTRY

Lucy Mack Smith, the mother of Joseph Smith, was a woman of unusual strength of character, unquestioned piety and of an intensely visionary mental organization. A study of her portrait, given herewith, will enable the critical reader to understand that Joseph Smith inherited his peculiar mental traits from his maternal rather than from his paternal ancestry. And it is timely to here state that the subject-matter of this chapter, so far as it relates to the incidents in the formative period of the Prophet's life, are from the "History of the Prophet Joseph" by his mother, Lucy Smith.

Soloman Mack, the father of Lucy, was very likely of English extraction. He participated in the war of the Revolution and was in every sense a typical and patriotic American. He was deeply religious, and in a brief memoir of his experiences during the war for Independence referred his many escapes from death to the interposition of the Almighty.

Of Soloman Mack's family of four sons and four daughters, the personality of but two of them, Jason and Lucy, will be of special interest to the reader, except that all of the family were intensely devotional and inclined to dreams and visions.

In a letter, June 30th, 1835, to his brother, Soloman Mack, Jason wrote as follows:

"My Dear Brother Soloman: You will, no doubt, be surprised to hear that I am still alive, although in an absence of twenty years I have never written to you before. But I trust you will forgive me when I tell you that, for most of the twenty years, I have been so situated that I have had little or no communication with the lines, and have been holding meetings, day and night, from place to place; besides, my mind has been so taken up with the deplorable situation of the earth, the darkness in which it lies, that, when my labors did call me near the lines, I did not realize the opportunity which presented itself of letting you know where I was. And, again, I have designed visiting you long since, and have annually promised myself that the succeeding year I would certainly seek out my relatives, and enjoy the privilege of one pleasing interview with them before I passed into the Valley and Shadow of Death. But last, though not least, let me not startle you when I say, that, according to my early adopted principles of the power of faith, the Lord has, in His exceeding kindness, bestowed upon me the gift of healing by the prayer of faith, and the use of such simple means as seem congenial to the human system; but my chief reliance is upon Him who organized us at the first, and can restore at pleasure that which is disorganized.

"The first of my peculiar successes in this way was twelve years since, and from nearly that date I have had little rest. In addition to the incessant calls which I, in a short time, had, there was the most overwhelming torrent of opposition poured down upon me that I ever witnessed. But it pleased God to take the weak to confound the wisdom of the wise. I have, in the last twelve years, seen the greatest manifestations of the power of God in healing the sick, that, with all my sanguinity, I ever hoped or imagined. And when the learned infidel has declared with sober face, time and again, that disease had obtained such an ascendency that death could be resisted no longer, that the victim must wither beneath his potent arm, I have seen the almost lifeless clay slowly but surely resuscitated, and revive till the pallid monster fled so far that the patient was left in the full bloom of vigorous health. But it is God that hath done it, and to Him let all the praise be given.

"I am now compelled to close this epistle, for I must immediately start on a journey of more than one hundred miles, to attend to a heavy case of sickness; so God be with you all. Farewell! "JASON MACK."

The letter quoted is useful only in that it throws important light on the profoundly religious traits that so completely dominated the family from which the modern Prophet inherited his strongest characteristics. The evident sincerity of Mr. Mack in his sorrow because of the "deplorable condition of the world," and his confidence in "healing by the prayer of faith," is singularly like the testimonies borne by all the elders of the Church of Latter-day Saints. Indeed, Jason Mack's healings of the sick began seven years prior to the organization of the Latter-day church by his nephew, "Joseph the Prophet."

Reference has heretofore been made to the intensely religious nature of Lucy Mack, who married Joseph Smith, Sr., and who, subsequently, became the mother of Hyrum, Sophronia, Joseph the Prophet, Samuel H., Ephraim, William, Catherine, Don Carlos and Lucy.

The first definite spiritual manifestation received by the mother of the Prophet was in Randolph, Vermont, in the year 1802. Mrs. Smith had been stricken with consumption, superinduced by a severe attack of fever, and her life was despaired of by her family and physician. While in that critical condition Mrs. Smith says:

"When I was meditating upon death, in this manner, my visitor (a Methodist exhorter), left; soon after which my husband came to my bed and took me by the hand, and said, 'Oh, Lucy! You must not die! The doctors have given you up; and all say you cannot live!' I then looked to the Lord, and begged and pleaded with Him to spare my life, in order that I might bring up my children, and be a comfort to my husband. My mind was much agitated during the whole night. Sometimes I contemplated heaven and heavenly things; then my thoughts would turn upon those of earth—my babes and my companion.

"During this night I made a solemn covenant with God, that, if He would let me live, I would endeavor to serve Him according to the best of my abilities. Shortly after this, I heard a voice say to me: 'Seek and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. Let your heart be comforted; ye believe in God, believe in me.' In a few moments my mother came in, and, looking upon me, she said, 'Lucy, you are better.'"

Quoting further from Mrs. Smith's history of "Joseph the Prophet":

"From my anxiety of mind to abide the covenant which I had made with the Lord, I went from place to place, for the purpose of getting information, and finding, if it were possible, some congenial spirit who could enter into my feelings, and thus be able to strengthen and assist me in carrying out my resolutions.

"I heard that a very devout man was to preach the next Sabbath in the Presbyterian church; I therefore went to meeting, in the full expectation of hearing that which my soul desired—the Word of Life.

"When the minister commenced speaking, I fixed my mind with deep attention upon the spirit and matter of his discourse; but after hearing him through, I returned home, convinced that he neither understood nor appreciated the subject upon which he spoke, and I said in my heart that there *was not then upon earth the religion which I sought.* I therefore determined to examine my Bible, and, taking Jesus and His disciples for my guide, to endeavor to obtain from God that which man could neither give nor take away."

Notwithstanding Mrs. Smith's implied doubt as to the genuineness of the then existing churches, she adds:

"At length, I considered it my duty to be baptized, and, finding a minister who was willing to baptize me, and leave me free in regard to joining any religious denomination, I stepped forward and yielded obedience to this ordinance; after which I continued to read the Bible as formerly, until my eldest son had attained his twenty-second year."

From Randolph the Smith family returned to Tunbridge, Vermont, where Joseph Smith, Sr., owned a farm which he subsequently sold to meet a deficit created by an unfortunate speculation in the former town. While residing in Tunbridge Mrs. Smith had another vision, which, aside from its interest as an alleged supernatural manifestation, has an important bearing on the early life of the founder of Mormonism, and is, therefore, given in full with the prefatory remarks by Mrs. Smith:

"While we were living in the town of Tunbridge, my mind became deeply impressed with the subject of religion; which, probably, was occasioned by my singular experience during my sickness at Randolph. I commenced attending Methodist meetings, and in order to oblige me, my husband accompanied me; but when this came to the ears of his oldest brother, he was so displeased, and said so much in regard to the matter, that my husband thought it best to desist. He said that he considered it hardly worth our while to attend the meetings any longer, as it would prove of but little advantage to us; besides this, it gave our friends such disagreeable feelings. I was considerably hurt by this, yet I made no reply. I retired to a grove not far distant, where I prayed to the Lord in behalf of my husband—that the true gospel might be presented to him, and that his heart might be softened so as to receive it, or, that he might become more religiously inclined. After praying some time in this manner, I returned to the house, much depressed in spirit, which state of feeling continued until I retired to my bed. I soon fell asleep, and had the following dream:

"I thought that I stood in a large and beautiful meadow, which lay a short distance from the house in which we lived, and that everything around me wore an aspect of peculiar pleasantness. The first thing that attracted my special attention in this magnificent meadow, was a very pure and clear stream of water, which ran through the midst of it; and as I traced this stream, I discovered two trees standing upon its margin, both of which were on the same side of the stream. These trees were very beautiful, they were well proportioned, and towered with majestic beauty to a great height. Their branches, which added to their symmetry and glory, commenced near the top, and spread themselves in luxurious grandeur around. I gazed upon them with wonder and admiration; and after beholding them a short time, I saw one of them was surrounded with a bright belt, that shone like burnished gold, but far more brilliantly. Presently, a gentle breeze passed by, and the tree encircled with this golden zone, bent gracefully before the wind, and waved its beautiful branches in the light air. As the wind increased, this tree assumed the most lively and animated appearance, and seemed to express in its motions the utmost joy and happiness. If it had been an intelligent creature, it could not have conveyed, by the power of language, the idea of joy and gratitude so perfectly as it did; and even the stream that rolled beneath it shared, apparently, every sensation felt by the tree, for, as the branches danced over the stream, it would swell gently, then recede again with a motion as soft as the breathing of an infant, but as lively as the dancing of a sunbeam. The belt also partook of the same influence, and, as it moved in unison with the motion of the stream and of the tree, it increased continually in refulgence and magnitude, until it became exceedingly glorious.

"I turned my eyes upon its fellow, which stood opposite; but it was not surrounded with the belt of light as the former, and it stood erect and fixed as a pillar of marble. No matter how strong the wind blew over it, not a leaf was stirred, not a bough was bent; but obstinately stiff it stood, scorning alike the zephyr's breath, or the power of the mighty storm.

"I wondered at what I saw, and said in my heart, 'What can be the meaning of all this?' And the interpretation given me was, that these personated my husband and his oldest brother, Jesse Smith; that the stubborn and unyielding tree was like Jesse; that the other, more pliant and flexible, was like Joseph, my husband; that the breath of heaven which passed over them, was the pure and undefiled gospel of the Son of God, which gospel Jesse would always resist, but which Joseph, when he was more advanced in life, would hear and receive in his whole heart, and rejoice therein; and unto him would be added intelligence, happiness, glory, and everlasting life."

JOSEPH SMITH, SR.

Joseph Smith, Sr., the father of Joseph the Prophet, was of English extraction. His ancestors were among the earliest settlers of New England. His was a somewhat easy-going, pliant disposition such as could be easily moulded by the superior intelligence, and stronger will of his wife. And that such influence was successfully exerted is amply proved by even a casual analysis of his wife's story. That his brother Jesse, in strength of character, was the opposite and mentally superior is clearly shown in the last paragraph, just quoted, of Mrs. Smith's vision, and in the alacrity exhibited by the father of the future Prophet in joining his wife in the matter of dreams and visions.

And it requires no supernatural discernment to discover in the following visions the whence and wherefores of a religious system that has continued to be an enigma to the people of all civilized nations:

"FIRST VISION OF JOSEPH SMITH, SENIOR—THE BOX—SECOND VISION—THE TREE AND THE SPACIOUS BUILDING

"After selling the farm at Tunbridge, we moved only a short distance, to the town of Royalton. Here we resided a few months, then moved again to Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont. In the latter place, my husband rented a farm of my father, which he cultivated in the summer, teaching school in the winter. In this way my husband continued laboring for a few years, during which time our circumstances gradually improved, until we found ourselves quite comfortable again.

"In the meantime, we had a son whom we called Joseph, after the name of his father; he was born December 23rd, 1805. I shall speak of him more particularly by and by.

"We moved thence to Tunbridge. Here we had another son, whom we named Samuel Harrison, born March 13th, 1808. We lived in this place a short time, then moved to Royalton, where Ephraim was born, March 13th, 1810. We continued here until we had another son, born March 13th, 1811, whom we called William.

"About this time my husband's mind became much excited upon the subject of religion; yet he would not subscribe to any particular system of faith, *but contended for the ancient order, as established by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and his Apostles.*

"One night my husband retired to his bed, in a very thoughtful state of mind, contemplating the situation of the Christian religion, or the *confusion and discord that were extant.* He soon fell into a sleep, and before waking had the following vision, which I shall relate in his own words, just as he told it to me the next morning:

"'I seemed to be traveling in an open, barren field, and as I was traveling, I turned my eyes towards the east, the west, north and the south, but could see nothing save dead, fallen timber. Not a vestige of life, either animal or vegetable, could be seen; besides, to render the scene still more dreary, the most deathlike silence prevailed, no sound of anything animate could be heard in all the field. I was alone in this gloomy desert, with the exception of an attendant spirit, who kept constantly by my side. Of him I inquired the meaning of what I saw, and why I was thus traveling in such a dismal place. He answered thus: 'This field is the world, which now lieth *inanimate and dumb,* in regard to the *true religion, or plan of salvation;* but travel on, and by the wayside you will find on a certain log a box, the contents of which, if you eat thereof, will make you wise, and give unto you wisdom and understanding.' I carefully observed what was told me by my guide, and proceeding a short distance, I came to the box. I immediately took it up, and placed it under my left arm; then with eagerness I raised the lid, and began to taste of its contents; upon which all manner of beasts, horned cattle, and roaring animals, rose up on every side in the most threatening manner possible, tearing the earth, tossing their horns, and bellowing most terrifically all around me, and they finally came so close upon me, that I was compelled to drop the box and fly for my life. Yet, in the midst of all this I was perfectly happy, though I awoke trembling.'

"From this forward, my husband seemed more confirmed than ever, in the opinion that there was *no order or class of religionists that knew any more concerning the Kingdom of God, than those of the world,* or such as made no profession of religion whatever.

"In 1811, we moved from Royalton, Vermont, to the town of Lebanon, New Hampshire. Soon after arriving here, my husband received another very singular vision, which I will relate:—

"'I thought,' said he, 'I was traveling in an open, desolate field, which appeared to be very barren. As I was thus traveling, the thought suddenly came into my mind that I had better stop and reflect upon what I was doing, before I went any further.

So I asked myself, 'What motive can I have in traveling here, and what place can this be?' My guide, who was by my side as before, said, '*This is the desolate world;* but travel on.' The road was so broad and barren, that I wondered why I should travel in it; for, said I to myself, 'Broad is the road, and wide is the gate that leads to death, and many there be that walk therein; but narrow is the way, and strait is the gate that leads to everlasting life, and few there be that go in thereat.' Traveling a short distance further, I came to a narrow path. This path I entered, and when I had traveled a little way in it, I beheld a beautiful stream of water, which ran from the east to the west. Of this stream, I could see neither the source nor yet the mouth; but as far as my eyes could extend I could see a rope, running along the bank of it, about as high as a man could reach, and beyond me, was a low, but very pleasant valley, in which stood a tree, such as I had never seen before. It was exceedingly handsome, insomuch that I looked upon it with wonder and admiration. Its beautiful branches spread themselves somewhat like an umbrella, and it bore a kind of fruit, in shape much like a chestnut bur, and as white as snow, or, if possible, whiter. I gazed upon the same with considerable interest, and as I was doing so, the burs or shells commenced opening and shedding their particles, or the fruit which they contained, which was of dazzling whiteness. I drew near, and began to eat of it, and I found it delicious beyond description. As I was eating I said in my heart, 'I cannot eat this alone, I must bring my wife and children, that they may partake with me.' Accordingly, I went and brought my family, which consisted of a wife and seven children, and we all commenced eating, and praising God for this blessing. We were exceedingly happy, insomuch that our joy could not be easily expressed. While thus engaged, I beheld a spacious building standing opposite the valley which we were in, and it appeared to reach to the very heavens. It was full of doors and windows, and they were all filled with people, who were very finely dressed. When these people observed us in the low valley, under the tree, they pointed the finger of scorn at us, and treated us with all manner of disrespect and contempt. But their contumely we utterly disregarded. I presently turned to my guide, and inquired of him the meaning of the fruit that was so delicious. He told me it was the pure love of God, shed abroad in the hearts of all those who love Him, and keep His commandments. He then commanded me to go and bring the rest of my children. I told him that we were all there. 'No,' he replied, 'look yonder; you have two more, and you must bring them also.' Upon raising my eyes, I saw two small children, standing some distance off. I immediately went to them, and brought them to the tree; upon which they commenced eating with the rest, and we all rejoiced together. The more we ate, the more we seemed to desire, until we even got down upon our knees, and scooped it up, eating it by double handfuls. After feasting in this manner a short time, I asked my guide what was the meaning of the spacious building which I saw. He replied, *'It is Babylon; it is Babylon, and it must fall.* The people in the doors and windows are the inhabitants thereof, *who scorn and despise the Saints of God, because of their humility.'* I soon awoke, clapping my hands together for joy.'

"We moved, as before-mentioned, to the town of Lebanon, New Hampshire. Here we settled ourselves down, and began to contemplate, with joy and satisfaction, the prosperity which had attended our recent exertions; and we doubled our diligence, in order to obtain more of this world's goods, with the view of assisting our children, when they should need it; and, as is quite natural, we looked forward to the decline of life, and were providing for its wants, as well as striving to procure those things which contribute much to the comfort of old age.

"As our children had, in a great measure, been debarred from the privilege of schools, we began to make every arrangement to attend to this important duty. We established our second son, Hyrum, in an academy at Hanover; and the rest, that were of sufficient age, we were sending to a common school that was quite convenient. Meanwhile, myself and companion were doing all that our abilities would admit of for the future welfare and advantage of the family; and were greatly blessed in our labors.

"But this state of things did not long continue. The typhus fever came into Lebanon, and raged tremendously. Among the number seized with this complaint were, first, Sophronia; next Hyrum, who was taken while at school, and came home sick; then Alvin; in short, one after another was taken down, till all the family, with the exception of myself and husband, were prostrated upon beds of sickness.

"Sophronia had a heavy siege. The physician attended her eighty-nine days, giving her medicine all the while; but on the ninetieth day, he said she was so far gone, it was not for her to receive any benefit from medicine, and for this cause he discontinued his attendance. The ensuing night she lay altogether motionless, with her eyes wide open, and with that peculiar aspect which bespeaks the near approach of death. As she thus lay, I gazed upon her as a mother looks upon the last shade of life in a darling child. In this moment of distraction, my husband and myself clasped our hands, fell upon our knees by the bedside, and poured out our grief to God, in prayer and supplication, beseeching Him to spare our child yet a little longer.

"Did the Lord hear our petition? Yes; He most assuredly did, and before we rose to our feet, He gave us a testimony that she would recover. When we first arose from prayer, our child had, to all appearance, ceased breathing. I caught a blanket, threw it around her, then, taking her in my arms, commenced pacing the floor. Those present remonstrated against my doing as I did, saying, 'Mrs. Smith, it is all of no use; you are certainly crazy; your child is dead.' Notwithstanding, I would not for a moment, relinquish the hope of again seeing her breathe and live.

"This recital, doubtless, will be uninteresting to some; but those who have experienced in life something of this kind are susceptible of feeling, and can sympathize with me. Are you a mother who has been bereft of a child? Feel your heart-strings, and then tell me how I felt with my expiring child pressed to my bosom! Would you, at this trying moment feel to deny that God had 'power to save to the uttermost all who call on Him?' I did not then, neither do I now.

"At length she sobbed. I still pressed her to my breast, and continued to walk the floor. She sobbed again, then looked up in my face, and commenced breathing quite freely. My soul was satisfied, but my strength was gone. I laid my daughter on the bed, and sunk by her side, completely overpowered by the intensity of my feelings.

"From this time forward Sophronia continued mending, until she entirely recovered."

Forming, as it does, the very basis of the superstructure of Mormonism, the subject-matter of the preceding portions of this chapter should be thoroughly understood.

In the letter from Jason Mack to his brother Soloman, the idea that the world was in the grasp of spiritual darkness and wickedness is easily discerned. While not so clearly defined, the impression is persistent that Jason Mack believed that the churches and the representatives of Christ were powerless to check the "deplorable" conditions then existing. And, while somewhat indefinite, the inference is justified that the "most overwhelming torrent of opposition" to Jason Mack's miraculous healings by the "prayer of faith" came from the ministers of the various churches, and that, in the estimation of Jason Mack, all of the churches were wrong, and that he alone was the accepted servant of God. Indeed, the spirit of exclusiveness, in the gift of healing, manifested by Jason Mack, has been voiced thousands of times by missionaries of the Mormon church in their sermons, in letters to their families, and to the church authorities.

In the vision of the two trees by the mother of the Prophet there is distinctly foreshadowed the restoration of the Gospel with all its primitive miraculous gifts and powers; that Joseph Smith, Sr., would receive it, but his brother Jesse would not. In fact, "Mother" Smith, as she was subsequently affectionately called by members of the future church, antedated her son, "the Prophet," many years in blazing the trail for the advent of the "dispensation of the fullness of times." Indeed, the impress of her strong mental traits and unconquerable spirit entitle her to the term "Founder of Mormonism," rather than to her visionary son, "the Prophet," who merely followed in his mother's footsteps and built on the foundation laid by her.

CHAPTER IV

JOSEPH SMITH, THE YOUTH—HIS ENVIRONMENT—MATERIALISM—OTHER DOCTRINES AS NATURAL SEQUENCES

Such was the environment within which the young Prophet, Joseph Smith, received his first impressions of the intimate relation of man to his Maker. To his young and plastic mind there was nothing intangible or remote in the existence or personality of God. From the hour that his mind first grasped the realities of life, Joseph Smith listened to recitals of visions received by his parents and ancestors. From the silence of the unknown the voice of Deity had called to his parents. The veil that, for centuries, had hidden the profound mysteries of the future life had parted, and his parents had seen and talked with immortals. Important truths, withheld from less favored mortals, had been freely communicated, and in contradistinction to the darkness, ignorance, strife and confusion of the rest of the world, his, indeed, was a family truly favored of the Lord.

This familiarity with the Creator of the Universe no doubt suggested to the youthful Prophet the first thought of materialism and the definite personality of the deity that, in future years, had so marked an influence in fusing his followers into a compact and homogeneous mass. When the sense of such nearness of God had been established by frequent visions and communications, as were claimed by the Smith family, it would have required no special revelation to firmly impress on the mind of Joseph Smith the unyielding faith that "God is a being of body, parts and passions." And from that belief there would naturally and logically be developed those other fundamental doctrines of Mormonism, to wit: That God has the form of man; that he has a wife (or wives) and that they, in compliance with the natural law of increase, are the father and mother of souls of men and women, or the doctrine of the pre-existence of spirits. The doctrine of the fatherhood and motherhood of those exalted personages suggested that other prominent Mormon doctrine of "celestial" marriage between immortals.

Having imbibed the doctrine of a pure materialism in regard to the Universe, and to the Inscrutable Power that governs it, the foundation had been laid for the superstructure of the doctrine of the exaltation and infinite progress of those who yield obedience to the principles and rites of Mormonism, and which are so dear to the heart of each Latter-day Saint.

If God be a material being and have a wife, thought Joseph Smith, why, if men are material and become immortal, should they not also have "celestial" wives and become the fathers and mothers of spirits? Thus the doctrine of a "plurality of gods" became a legitimate sequence of that first thought of materialism suggested by the environment of familiarity with heavenly beings in which Joseph Smith was born and in which he grew to manhood.

The doctrines just enumerated were not grasped as a whole, but, one by one, were added in the gradual unfolding of the original doctrine of materialism. In subsequent years President Brigham Young added the capstone to the superstructure of materialism reared by the founder of Mormonism. In condensed form that doctrine may be truthfully stated as follows: Given infinite space and the existence and infinite diffusion of matter, we have a limitless field for the organization of infinitely distributed systems of suns and worlds. That, over each of those systems, and over each of those habitable worlds, is a god whose right to such inheritance has been secured by obedience to the principles of (1) Faith in the Lord Jesus; (2) Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; (3) Repentance of sins; (4) Confirmation, or the laying-on of hands for the conferring of the Holy Ghost, and compliance with the law of "celestial" marriage or the "sealing" of a man and his wife for eternity. The belief of Latter-day Saints is that Adam and Eve, instead of being created, came from some celestial or glorified world, where they had reared a large family of spirits, to this earth. That because of "partaking of the forbidden fruit" Adam became mortal, and thereby became the parent of the "children of men" on this planet. Thus, Adam and Eve, his queen, have the right to rule over the destinies of this earth, and which furnished the warrant for Brigham Young's terse and comprehensive epigram, that, "Adam is our Father and God, and the only God with whom we have to do." That no carping Saint may deny this doctrine President Brigham Young is herewith quoted:

"Now hear it, O inhabitants of the earth, Jew and Gentile, saint and sinner! When our father Adam came into the garden of Eden, he came into it with a celestial body, and brought Eve, one of his wives, with him. He helped to make and organize this world. He is Michael, the Archangel, the ANCIENT of DAYS! About whom holy men have written and spoken—he is our FATHER and our GOD, and the only GOD with whom we have to do. Every man upon the earth, professing Christians or non-professing, must hear it and will have it sooner or later. They came here, organized the raw material, and arranged in their order the herbs of the field, the trees, the apple, the peach, the plum, the pear, and every other fruit that is desirable and good for man; the seed was brought from another sphere, and planted in this earth. The thistle, the thorn, the brier, and the obnoxious weed did not appear until after the earth was cursed. When Adam and Eve had eaten of the forbidden fruit, their bodies became mortal from its effects, and therefore their offspring were mortal."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 50, April 9th, 1852.

Such, in brief, are the doctrines that were evolved from the young Prophet's first conception of materialism. And such, in part, are the doctrines taught by some modern scientific advocates of materialism.

The better educated of the Mormon missionaries, in advocating the "higher principles" of Joseph Smith's religious system, urge that the young "Prophet was uneducated, and because of that, he was unable, without revelation from God, to propound doctrines that, subsequently, partially and vaguely, were endorsed by some scientific men."

It is not the province of this volume to advocate any of the principles of Mormonism. The bare facts, pro and con, will be given, leaving the reader to form such conclusions as may be logically drawn from an unbiased statement of Mormon doctrine, the high-lights of the system's history, and its practical workings within this Republic. And in the interest of fairness to the reader the per contra of the Mormon missionaries' arguments will be given.

Joseph Smith was an exceptionally precocious youth, gifted with phenomenal conceptive and imaginative faculties. From his mother's side of the family he inherited a strong devotional temperament, supplemented by admirable persistence of purpose and magnificent courage. The marked visionary quality of Lucy Smith's mind was transmitted in an intensified measure to her son, Joseph.

In every sense he was a child of nature. His first impressions were that God was material and, as it were, always within easy hailing distance. His mother asserts there was nothing remarkable about his childhood. He was industrious and faithful in his work on the farm, and, withal, quiet and given to deep meditation. Nature, in her ever changeful moods, seemed to commune with him. The murmurings of the streams, the whisperings of the forests and the carolling of the birds were but gentle voices from the unseen—manifestations of an invisible yet material existence. Like the first men who lived on this earth, Joseph Smith sensed the presence and power of the Infinite in the movements of the stars; in animate nature; in the roar of the tempest and in the hoarse drumming of thunder.

From a close study of Joseph Smith's mental make-up, and the environment of his boyhood, and from traits of character developed in later life in which the law of cause and consequence was apparently totally ignored, there is seeming justification for questioning his mental poise, but little for questioning his sincerity.

The foregoing brief effort to indicate the mental and spiritual status of Joseph Smith, Jr., in advance of his career, has been made for two principal reasons. First, the scope of this volume will permit only of the briefest extracts from his history, which prevents the reader from forming correct personal conclusions on the merits of the controversy between Mormon historians and the general public regarding the status of Joseph

Smith as a prophet. Second, the foregoing restricted analysis will serve to aid the reader in obtaining a deeper insight into that which, otherwise, might be confusing and inexplicable. And, incidentally, may remove any preconceived prejudice relative to Joseph Smith having been a self-conscious imposter.

CHAPTER V

JOSEPH SMITH, THE PROPHET—HIS FIRST VISION—MORONI DELIVERS THE GOLD PLATES—PERSECUTION

After many misfortunes, comprising sickness, loss of crops, etc., in Vermont and Pennsylvania, the Smith family removed to Palmyra, New York.

The youthful Prophet was then about fourteen years old, and deeply interested in religious matters. Even at that tender age, according to Joseph's mother, the powers of evil were seeking his destruction. Mrs. Smith says:

"At the age of fourteen, an incident occurred which alarmed us much, as we knew not the cause of it. Joseph being a remarkably quiet, well-disposed child, we did not suspect that any one had aught against him. He was out one evening on an errand, and on returning home, as he was passing through the door-yard, a gun was fired across his pathway, with the evident intention of shooting him. He sprang to the door much frightened. We immediately went in search of the assassin, but could find no trace of him that evening. The next morning we found his tracks under a wagon, where he lay when he fired; and the following day we found the balls, which were discharged from the gun, lodged in the head and neck of a cow that was standing opposite the wagon in a dark corner. We have not as yet discovered the man who made this attempt at murder, neither can we discover the cause thereof."

A short time after the incident just quoted, a wave of religious excitement swept the country. Revival meetings were frequent and enthusiastic. Of those times the young Prophet's own version will be given:

"I was at this time in my fifteenth year. My father's family was proselyted to the Presbyterian faith, and four of them joined that church, namely, my mother Lucy, my brothers Hyrum and Samuel Harrison, and my sister Sophronia.

"During this time of great excitement, my mind was called up to serious reflection and great uneasiness; but though my feelings were deep, and often poignant, still I kept myself aloof from all those parties, though I attended their several meetings as often as occasion would permit. In process of time, my mind became somewhat partial to the Methodist sect, and I felt some desire to be united with them, but so great were the confusion and strife among the different denominations, that it was impossible for a person, young as I was, and so unacquainted with men and things, to come to any certain conclusion who was right and who was wrong. My mind at different times was greatly excited, the cry and tumult were so great and incessant. The Presbyterians were most decided against the Baptists and Methodists, and used all the powers of either reason or sophistry to prove their errors, or at least to make the people think they were in error. On the other hand, the Baptists and Methodists, in their turn, were equally zealous in endeavoring to establish their own tenets and disprove all others.

"In the midst of this war of words, and tumult of opinion, I often said to myself, 'What is to be done? Who, of all these parties, are right? or, are they all wrong together? If any one of them be right, which is it? and how shall I know it?'

"While I was laboring under the extreme difficulties caused by the contests of these parties of religionists, I was one day reading in the epistle of James, first chapter and fifth verse, which reads, 'If any of you lack wisdom let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not, and it shall be given him.' Never did any passage of Scripture come with more power to the heart of man than did this at this time to mine. It seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of my heart. I reflected on it again and again, knowing that if any person needed wisdom from God, I did, for how to act I did not know, and, unless I could get more wisdom than I then had, I would never know; for the teachers of religion of the different sects understood the same passages so differently, as to destroy all confidence in settling the question by an appeal to the Bible. At length I came to the conclusion that I must either remain in darkness and confusion, or else I must do as James directs, that is, ask of God. I at length came to the determination to ask of

God, concluding that if he gave wisdom to them that lacked wisdom, and would give liberally, and not upbraid, I might venture. So, in accordance with this my determination to ask of God, I retired to the woods to make the attempt. It was on the morning of a beautiful, clear day, early in the spring of 1820. It was the first time in my life that I had made such an attempt; for amidst all my anxieties I had never as yet made the attempt to pray vocally. After I had retired into the place where I had previously designed to go, having looked around me, and finding myself alone, I kneeled down and began to offer up the desires of my heart to God. I had scarcely done so, when immediately I was seized upon by some power which entirely overcame me, and had such an astonishing influence over me as to bind my tongue, so that I could not speak. Thick darkness gathered around me, and it seemed to me for a time as if I were doomed to sudden destruction. But, exerting all my powers to call upon God, to deliver me out of the power of this enemy which had seized upon me, and at the very moment when I was ready to sink into despair, and abandon myself to destruction—not to an imaginary ruin, but to the power of some actual being from the unseen world, who had such a marvelous power as I had never felt before in any being; just at this moment of great alarm, I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me. It no sooner appeared, than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me, I saw two personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name, and said, pointing to the other, 'This is my beloved Son; hear him!'

"My object in going to enquire of the Lord, was to know which of all these sects was right, that I might know which to join. No sooner, therefore, did I get possession of myself, so as to be able to speak, than I asked the personages who stood above me in the light, which of all the sects was right—and which I should join. I was answered that I must join none of them, for they were all wrong; and the personage who addressed me said that all their creeds were an abomination in his sight; that those professors were all corrupt; that 'they draw near to me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; they teach for doctrines the commandments of men, having a form of godliness, but they deny the power thereof.' He again forbade me to join with any of them; and many other things did he say unto me which I cannot write at this time. When I came to myself again I found myself lying on my back, looking up into heaven. When the light had departed, I had no strength; but soon recovering in some degree, I went home. And as I leaned up to the fireplace, mother enquired what the matter was. I replied, 'Never mind, all is well—I am well enough off.' I then said to my mother, 'I have learned for myself that Presbyterianism is not true.' It seems as though the adversary was aware, at a very early period of my life, that I was destined to prove a disturber and an annoyer in his kingdom; else why should the powers of darkness combine against me? Why the opposition and persecution that arose against me, almost in my infancy?

"Some few days after I had this vision, I happened to be in company with one of the Methodist preachers who was very active in the before-mentioned religious excitement, and conversing with him upon the subject of religion, I took occasion to give him an account of the vision which I had had. I was greatly surprised at his behavior. He treated my communication not only lightly, but with great contempt, saying it was all of the devil; that there was no such thing as visions or revelations in these days; that all such things had ceased with the apostles, and that there would never be any more of them. I soon found, however, that my telling the story had excited a great deal of prejudice against me among the professors of religion, and was the cause of great persecution, which continued to increase; and though I was an obscure boy, only between fourteen and fifteen years of age, and my circumstances in life such as to make a boy of no consequence in the world, yet men of high standing would take notice sufficient to excite the public mind against me and create a bitter persecution; and this was common among all sects—all united to persecute me. It caused me serious reflection, then, and often has since, how very strange it was that an obscure boy, of a little over fourteen years of age—and one, too, who was doomed to the necessity of obtaining a scanty maintenance by his daily labors, should be thought a character of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the great ones of the most popular sects of the day, in a manner to create in them a spirit of the most bitter persecution and reviling. But strange or not, so it was, and it was often the cause of great sorrow to myself. However, it was, nevertheless, a fact that I had beheld a vision. I have thought since, that I felt much like Paul when he made his defense before King Agrippa, and related the account of the vision he had when he 'saw a light and heard a voice'; but still there were but few who believed him. Some said he was dishonest, others said he was mad, and he was ridiculed and reviled; but all this did not destroy the reality of his vision. He had seen a vision—he knew he had—and all the persecution under heaven could not make it otherwise; and though they should persecute him unto death, yet he knew, and would know to his latest breath, that he had both seen a light and heard a voice speaking unto him, and all the world could not make him think or believe otherwise. So it was with me. I had actually seen a light, and in the midst of that light I saw two personages, and they did in reality speak to me; and though I was hated and persecuted for saying that I had seen a vision, yet it was true; and while they were persecuting me, reviling me, and speaking all manner of evil against me falsely, for so saying, I was led to say in my heart, 'Why persecute for telling the truth? I have actually seen a vision; and who am I that I can withstand God? or, why does the world think to make me deny what I have actually seen?' For I had seen a vision. I knew it, and I knew that God knew it; and I could not deny it, neither dared I do it,—at least, I knew that by so doing I would offend God, and come under condemnation."

Again quoting from Joseph's mother:

"From this time until the twenty-first of September, 1823, Joseph continued, as usual, to labor with his father, and nothing during this interval occurred of very great importance—though he suffered every kind of opposition and persecution from the different orders of religionists.

"On the evening of the twenty-first of September, he retired to his bed in quite a serious and contemplative state of mind. He shortly betook himself to prayer and supplication to Almighty God, for a manifestation of his standing before him, and while thus engaged he received the following vision:"

"While I was thus in the act of calling upon God, I discovered a light appearing in my room, which continued to increase until the room was lighter than at noon-day, when immediately a personage appeared at my bedside, standing in the air, for his feet did not touch the floor. He had on a loose robe of most exquisite whiteness. It was a whiteness beyond anything earthly I had ever seen, nor do I believe that any earthly thing could be made to appear so exceedingly white and brilliant. His hands were naked, and his arms also, a little above the wrist; so also were his feet naked, as were his legs a little above the ankles. His head and neck were also bare. I could discover that he had no other clothing on but this robe, as it was open, so that I could see into his bosom. Not only was his robe exceedingly white, but his whole person was glorious beyond description, and his countenance truly like lightning. The room was exceedingly light, but not so very bright as immediately around his person. When I first looked upon him I was afraid, but the fear soon left me. He called me by name, and said unto me that he was a messenger sent from the presence of God to me, and that his name was Moroni; that God had a work for me to do, and that my name should be had for good and evil among all nations, kindreds, and tongues; or that it should be both good and evil spoken of among all people. He said there was a book deposited, written upon gold plates, giving an account of the former inhabitants of this continent, and the source from whence they sprang. He also said that the fullness of the everlasting gospel was contained in it, as delivered by the Savior to the ancient inhabitants. Also, that there were two stones in silver bows, and these stones fastened to a breastplate, constituted what is called the Urim and Thummim, deposited with the plates; and the possession and use of these stones were what constituted seers in ancient or former times; and that God had prepared them for the purpose of translating the book. After telling me those things he commenced quoting the prophecies of the Old Testament. He first quoted part of the third chapter of Malachi; and he quoted also the fourth or last chapter of the same prophecy, though with a little variation from the way it reads in our Bibles. Instead of quoting the first verse as it reads in our books, he quoted it thus: 'For behold the day cometh that shall burn as an oven; and all the proud, yea, and all who do wickedly, shall burn as stubble, for they that come shall burn them, saith the Lord of Hosts, that it shall leave them neither root nor branch.' And again he quoted the fifth verse thus: 'Behold, I will reveal unto you the priesthood by the hand of Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord.' He also quoted the next verse differently: 'And he shall plant in the hearts of the children the promises made to the fathers, and the hearts of the children shall turn to their fathers; if it were not so, the whole earth would be utterly wasted at his coming.' In addition to these, he quoted the eleventh chapter of Isaiah, saying that it was about to be fulfilled. He quoted also the third chapter of Acts, twenty-second and twenty-third verses, precisely as they stand in our New Testament. He said that that Prophet was Christ, but the day had not yet come 'when they who would not hear his voice should be cut off from among the people,' but soon would come. He also quoted the second chapter of Joel, from the twenty-eighth verse to the last. He also said that this was not yet fulfilled, but was soon to be. And he further stated the fullness of the Gentiles was soon to come in. He quoted many other passages of Scripture, and offered many explanations which cannot be mentioned here. Again, he told me that when I got those plates of which he had spoken (for the time that they should be obtained was not then fulfilled), I should not show them to any person, neither the breastplate, with the Urim and Thummim, only to those to whom I should be commanded to show them: If I did I should be destroyed. While he was conversing with me about the plates, the vision was opened to my mind that I could see the place where the plates were deposited, and that so clearly and distinctly, that I knew the place again when I visited it.

"After this communication, I saw the light in the room begin to gather immediately around the person of him who had been speaking to me, and it continued to do so until the room was again left dark, except just around him; when instantly I saw, as it were, a conduit open right up into heaven, and he ascended till he entirely disappeared, and the room was left as it had been before this heavenly light made its appearance.

"I lay musing on the singularity of the scene, and marveling greatly at what had been told to me by this extraordinary messenger, when, in the midst of my meditation, I suddenly discovered that my room was again beginning to get lighted, and, in an instant, as it were, the same heavenly messenger was again by my bed-side. He commenced, and again related the very same things which he had done at his first visit, without the least variation, which having done, he informed me of great judgments which were coming upon the earth, with great desolations by famine, sword, and pestilence; and that these grievous judgments would come on earth in this generation. Having related these things, he again ascended as he had done before."

After a second request of the angel, Joseph told his father of the vision, or visions, and subsequently visited the locality where the plates were hidden, and which the young Prophet minutely describes in the following words:

"Convenient to the village of Manchester, Ontario Co., New York, stands a hill of considerable size, and the most elevated of any in the neighborhood. On the west side of this hill, not far from the top, under a stone of considerable size, lay the plates, deposited in a stone box. This stone was thick and rounding in the middle, on the upper side, and thinner towards the edges, so that the middle part of it was visible above the ground; but the edge all around was covered with earth.

"Having removed the earth, I obtained a lever, which I got fixed under the edge of the stone, and with a little exertion raised it up. I looked in, and there, indeed, did I behold the plates! the Urim and Thummim, and the breastplate, as stated by the messenger."

The angel Moroni, however, did not permit Joseph to obtain the plates at that time although he continued to receive visits and instructions from the same heavenly messenger.

In the meantime, and while patiently waiting for the angel to deliver the plates to Joseph, the Smith family was indulging in mutual congratulations because the true Gospel with all its miraculous gifts and blessings would soon be restored to the earth.

However, the season of waiting had its pleasures as well as its anxieties. The prolific mind of the young Prophet was busily employed with advance information relative to the geography, topography and other details of the lands occupied by the ancestors of the American Indians. That his ideas were rapidly approaching definite and concrete forms is clearly proved in the following extract from the Prophet's history by his mother:

"During our evening conversations, Joseph would occasionally give us some of the most amusing recitals that could be imagined. He would describe the ancient inhabitants of this continent, their dress, mode of traveling, and the animals upon which they rode; their cities, their buildings, with every particular; their mode of warfare; and also their religious worship. This he would do with much ease, seemingly, as if he had spent his whole life among them."

With entire consistency the unbeliever in Joseph Smith's miraculous gifts may well ask: "If the young Prophet's mind were so susceptible to supernatural impressions, or to the oral information of his heavenly visitant, why the necessity of the use of the Urim and Thummim in the translation of the plates? or, for that matter, why any necessity for the plates?"

At stated intervals Joseph went to the hill, Cumorah, as it was known to the ancient inhabitants, and was permitted to look at the plates, but the time had not arrived for their translation.

When Joseph was twenty-two years old he married Emma Hale, a most estimable young lady of South Bainbridge, New York.

On September 22, 1827, the angel transferred the gold plates from the stone box on the side of Cumorah to the keeping of Joseph Smith.

The plates, as described by those who claimed to have seen them, were about eight inches in length, by about six inches in width, and formed a "book" about six inches thick. The "leaves" or plates, were quite thin, and upon them were closely engraved hieroglyphics, said by the Prophet to be "reformed Egyptian."

On transferring the plates to Joseph the angel said to him: "Now you have got the Record into your own hands, and you are but a man, therefore you will have to be watchful and faithful to your trust, or you will be overpowered by wicked men; for they will lay every plan and scheme that is possible to get it away from you, and if you do not take heed continually, they will succeed. While it was in my hands, I could keep it, and no man had power to take it away! but now I give it up to you. Beware, and look well to your ways, and you shall have power to retain it, until the time for it to be translated."

The Prophet had been repeatedly admonished by the angel that no one but members of his, Joseph's family, and others whose names the Lord would reveal, must know of the existence of the plates. It was, however, only a short time before the entire country roundabout was greatly agitated over the remarkable event, the reports of which were greatly distorted and exaggerated. "Joe Smith's gold Bible," "Joe Smith's peep-stone," "Joe Smith as a money digger," and other stories were the current gossip for miles around.

Except as to Joseph Smith, Sr., who was of a modest, unpretentious and easy-going, yet withal honest and earnest; nature, there are indubitable evidences that a feeling of pride, if not of arrogance, pervaded the Smith family because of the newly acquired notoriety that the possession of the gold plates had focussed upon them.

Even the Prophet himself was not too great to plume himself on the greatness that had been so suddenly thrust upon him. In proof of his flagrant disregard of Moroni's admonition when he was permitted to receive the plates, or record, a few items gleaned from his mother's biography are submitted:

On September 22nd, 1824, Joseph again visited the place where the plates were secreted. He was permitted to take them from the stone box. He had been previously admonished "Not to permit the record to leave his hands," until "he got into the house and deposited them in a chest or trunk, having a good lock and KEY."

With incomprehensible disregard of Moroni's admonition, Joseph laid the record "very carefully" on the ground while he replaced the oval stone lid to the box in order to safe-guard the possible presence of articles that might be of future monetary value to him. Joseph turned to get the plates, but they were gone. Again quoting from Mrs. Smith:

"Having some further conversation with the angel on this occasion, Joseph was permitted to raise the stone again, when he beheld the plates as he had done before. He immediately reached forth his hand to take them, but instead of getting them, as he anticipated, he was hurled back upon the ground with great violence. When he recovered, the angel was gone, and he arose and returned to the house, weeping for grief and disappointment."

It would be inferred that the physical rebuke, just described, would have been ample caution to the ordinary uninspired man. And in view of the incident above narrated the following is simply incomprehensible:

On finally receiving the record, Joseph secreted it in a birch log about three miles from the Smith farm. Subsequently, after having secured a chest "with a good lock and key," Joseph returned to the birch log, secured the plates and after "wrapping them in his linen frock, placed them under his arm and started for home." The history then continues:

"After proceeding a short distance, he thought it would be more safe to leave the road and go through the woods. Traveling some distance after he left the road, he came to a large windfall, and as he was jumping over a log, a man sprang up from behind it and gave him a heavy blow with a gun. Joseph turned around and knocked him down, then ran at the top of his speed. About half a mile further he was attacked again in the same manner as before; he knocked this man down in like manner as the former, and ran on again; and before he reached home he was assaulted the third time. In striking the last one, he dislocated his thumb, which, however, he did not notice until he came within sight of the house, when he threw himself down in the corner of the fence in order to recover his breath. As soon as he was able, he arose and came to the house. He was still altogether speechless from fright and the fatigue of running.

"After resting a few moments, he desired me to send Carlos for my husband, Mr. Knight, and his friend Stoal, and have them go immediately and see if they could find the men who had been pursuing him. And after Carlos had done this, he wished to have him sent to Hyrum's, to tell him to bring the chest."

Thus the story was circulated throughout the neighborhood and the surrounding country, and by the Prophet himself.

There is no desire on the part of the writer to be unreasonably captious even in the face of useless dramatics that are nauseating even to a believer in the reality of the gold plates.

But it is pertinent to suggest a few queries. If the angel had the power to recover the plates from the ground where Joseph had laid them, and to replace them in the stone box after the young Prophet had replaced the cover and the earth, why the necessity for repeated admonitions as to their safety? Surely the angel could have safe-guarded the record that was of such transcendental importance to the children of men with as much ease after its delivery to Joseph as during the fourteen hundred years it had been buried on the side of the hill Cumorah. It were an insult to the intelligence and power of the Almighty to thus burden the story with dramatic attachments and literary hysteria in order to intensify the atmosphere of supernaturalness, and to add importance and dignity to the young Prophet.

In order to further illustrate the almost hysterical anxiety on the part of Mrs. Smith to make the most of the notoriety that the possession of the plates had given to her family, the following is quoted from her history of "Joseph Smith, the Prophet":

"My husband soon learned that ten or twelve men were clubbed together, with one Willard Chase, a Methodist class-leader, at their head; and what was still more ridiculous, they had sent sixty or seventy miles for a certain conjurer, to come and divine the place where the plates were secreted."

And, according to Mrs. Smith, mobs were organized for the purpose of searching the house and neighborhood for the record:

"As soon as night came, the mob came also, and commenced ransacking the place. They rummaged round the house, and all over the premises, but did not come into the house. After making satisfactory search, they went away.

"The next morning we found the floor of the cooper's shop torn up, and the box which was laid under it shivered in pieces.

"In a few days afterwards, we learned the cause of this last move—why their curiosity led them in the direction of the cooper's shop. A young woman by the name of Chase, sister to Willard Chase, found a green glass, through which she could see many very wonderful things, and among her great discoveries she said that the saw the precise place where 'Joe Smith kept his gold Bible hid,' and, obedient to her directions, the mob gathered their forces and laid siege to the cooper's shop.

"Notwithstanding their disappointment in not finding the plates in the shop, their confidence was not in the least shaken in Miss Chase, for they still went from place to place by her direction, determined to get, if possible, the much-desired object of their search."

Sufficient data relative to the Smith family, and of the origin of the "Book of Mormon" has been furnished to enable the reader to form intelligent conclusions, and to follow the narrative down to the political period of the church in Utah.

It is only necessary to add that Martin Harris, Emma Smith —the wife of the Prophet, and Oliver Cowdry, aided in the translation of the record which was accomplished amid almost continuous difficulties and persecutions, as it is alleged, by members of the "sectarian" churches.

CHAPTER VI

THE BOOK OF MORMON—HISTORICAL SYNOPSIS—

JAREDITES

In order that the reader may have an idea of what the Book of Mormon really is, the briefest possible historical synopsis will be given.

At the time of the confusion of tongues that stopped work on the Tower of Babel, the "brother of Jared," whose name was subsequently revealed to Joseph Smith to be Mahonri Moriancumr, was warned by the Lord to take his family and a few of his friends and journey eastward to the wilderness bordering on the Pacific Ocean. Under instructions of the Lord, several "barges" were constructed in which the small colony crossed the Pacific, and, presumably, landed on the east coast of the Gulf of California. The colony gradually spread over Mexico, and during the lapse of about two thousand years became a great nation. Cities and temples were built, and a high state of civilization attained. But, in time, rival factions precipitated a civil war which culminated in the entire destruction of the inhabitants. Shiz and Coriantumr, the last survivors of the contending forces, ended their blood-thirsty careers in a ferocious duel to the death a short distance west of the Gulf of Mexico. A record of the Jaredites had been kept by the prophets, or scribes designated by them. Those records were hidden in a cave near the scene of the duel just mentioned, by Ether, who witnessed the last act of the tragedy. The history of that people forms the appendix to the Book of Mormon, and is named the "Book of Ether."

By the Mormon people it is claimed that the mysterious ruins of Mexico are the remains of the cities and temples built by the Jaredites.

NEPHITES AND LAMANITES

About 600 years B. C., a prophet named Lehi lived in Jerusalem. In a dream he was warned of the troubles that would come upon Israel, of the captivity of the Jews, and was told to take his family, consisting of his wife Sariah, and his sons, Laman, Lemuel, Sam and Nephi, and journey to the east shore of the Red Sea, which was obeyed.

Subsequently, Lehi sent his sons back to Jerusalem, where they induced Ishmael and his sons and daughters to join them in the journey to the "promised land." While in Jerusalem, Nephi, in order to obtain certain portions of the Old Testament, or the record of the Jews, killed a relative named Laban. To even those who are devout believers of the "divine authenticity" of the Book of Mormon, and in the prophetic gifts of Nephi, there comes the thought that the killing of Laban was altogether unnecessary, treacherous and cowardly. But it was a time when "might made right," and there was much in Nephi's character, as given by himself, that was most admirable. Laban's slave, Zoram, unintentionally aided in obtaining the records, and was added to the expedition.

After the addition to the colony had arrived in the "wilderness bordering on the Red Sea," Lehi and his followers proceeded by marches, covering a period of several years, southeastward to what is believed to be the Persian Gulf. Under the instructions of the Lord a ship was constructed in which the colony crossed the Pacific Ocean and landed on the west coast of South America. By some critics of the Book of Mormon it is inferred that the landing was effected at a point in the vicinity of which the city of Valparaiso was subsequently built.

Soon after the colony arrived in the promised land Laman and Lemuel rebelled against the authority of their father. The chief cause of the mutiny was found in their objection to the rather arbitrary sway of their younger brother, Nephi, who was "favored of the Lord" in dreams and visions, and thus ruled by divine authority. In time the schism became so acute that Laman, Lemuel and others whom they could induce, separated themselves from the rest of the colony and became hunters. Having abandoned industry, so strongly taught and urged by Lehi and Nephi, the Lamanites became idle, filthy and cruel. As a punishment for their rebellion and wickedness the Lord cursed them with dark, copper-colored skins, and the Lamanites became the progenitors of the Indians, who subsequently overran this western hemisphere.

The colony under the control of Nephi clung to the arts of peace, and in time became a great and highly civilized people. Cities were built in Chili, Peru and other lands to the north. The Nephites were often harassed by their dark-skinned brethren, the Lamanites. And as the respective colonies increased in numbers many sanguinary battles were fought. During all the centuries in which the Nephites lived and flourished a record of their achievements in civilization, their religion, including numerous revelations, and in war, was kept by historians and became consecutive "books" or sub-divisions in the Book of Mormon.

It was the stories of the customs and habits of the Nephites with which the youthful Prophet Joseph, years before he even saw the plates, amused his mother's family during the evenings, and which so clearly proves that his fruitful mind was working out the details of a really remarkable and interesting narrative.

ZARAHEMLAITES

Some twelve years after the departure of Lehi from Jerusalem another colony left that city for the "promised land." Mulek, the only surviving son of King Zedekiah, received a vision warning him to leave his native country and journey to the "promised land." Accordingly, Mulek selected a few faithful followers, and traveled northward to the Mediterranean Sea. A boat was built in which the little colony embarked and sailed out into the Atlantic Ocean. In due time they landed near the mouth of the Magdalena River, in the vicinity of the present city of Cartagena, on the south coast of the Caribbean Sea, South America. Proceeding up the Magdalena River, which the new arrivals named Sidon, the colony selected a site for permanent homes on the west bank of the stream. In time a great city arose on the Sidon and was named Zarahemla. The rapid increase of the inhabitants of that section of the Promised Land compelled them to seek other localities, and to build other cities to the south and west of the chief city. They called themselves Zarahemlaites, which was somewhat more euphonious than would have been the harsher name of Mulekites.

The pressure of the Lamanites on the Nephites gradually forced the latter northward until they discovered the people of Zarahemla, with whom they united in defense of a common cause. The union of the two peoples, who were thereafter known as Nephites, enabled them to withstand the Samanites, whose hatred of the white race had been intensified by centuries of almost continuous warfare. Except for occasional skirmishes, several hundred years of peace was enjoyed by the Nephites.

During the era of peace many more cities were built, colonies extended northwestward down, no doubt, to the Isthmus of Panama.

CHRIST VISITS NEPHITES

After His resurrection in Jerusalem, Jesus visited the Nephites and established His church among them. During a brief period the Nephites obeyed the commandments of the Lord. But dissensions soon split the people into warring factions. Weakened by internecine strife the Nephites became an easy prey to their old enemy the Lamanites. One after another the Nephite cities were abandoned, and the inhabitants forced northward along the Isthmus towards North America. After retreating through eastern Texas the Nephites pursued a northeasterly course into the country now known as northern New York.

The last desperate stand of the Nephites was made in the vicinity of the hill Cumorah from which the gold plates were obtained by Joseph Smith.

It was then about 420 years after Christ, and the Nephites had been falling back during about one hundred years from the city of Zarahemla to Cumorah.

In the last great battle that raged around Cumorah 230,000 of the Nephites were slain. The few that escaped death in the last mighty conflict were soon overtaken by the Lamanites, and the annihilation of the race effected.

Moroni, the last of the Nephite Prophets, witnessed the destruction of his people, then completed and sealed the record and deposited it in Cumorah. (A gilded statue of Moroni now crowns the east spire of the great Mormon temple in Salt Lake City.)

The historical portions of the Book of Mormon are so intermixed with alleged revelations, doctrinal disquisitions, rebukes, admonitions, personal items and unnecessary verbiage that the untangling of the narrative is an almost interminable task for those whose time for reading is abridged by the ordinary affairs of life.

It is claimed by Mormon writers and speakers that the ruins of ancient cities found in the northern part of South America are the remains of some of the cities reared by the Nephites. It is also claimed that the account given in the Book of Mormon of those cities antedates by several years the discovery of them as ruins, and that Joseph Smith, the translator of the Book of Mormon, had no means of knowing of the existence of the ruins during the period of translation. On the secular evidences just enumerated, Mormon missionaries chiefly rely in their efforts to make converts.

When divested of the immaterialities there is a plausibility to the narrative that to those unaccustomed to, or incapable of, analysis is difficult to parry. One thing is absolutely certain; Lyman Spaulding did not write the Book of Mormon. The book is the offspring of Joseph Smith's fertile and highly imaginative brain, or he translated it as alleged.

After an exhaustive study of the Book of Mormon there is no hesitancy on the part of the writer in affirming that the author of "Robinson Crusoe," "The Swiss Family Robinson" or "Gulliver's Travels," could have written the Book of Mormon. And there should be hesitancy on the part of intelligent men and women to reflect on the intelligence of the Almighty to the extent of charging Him with having been an accessory, before or after the fact, in the production of the Book of Mormon.

CHAPTER VII

CHURCH ORGANIZATION EFFECTED—ITS POLITICAL STATUS DEFINED BY THE PROPHETS

In obedience to revelation the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was organized on the sixth day of April, 1830, at Fayette, Seneca County, New York. On that date six persons, only, comprised its membership—that is, those who were present.

As a matter of course the organization was incomplete. But as fast as members were added, and suitable men could be found, apostles, seventies, elders, priests, teachers and deacons were ordained to their respective callings. In fact, the work of organization, like the "higher doctrines," of the Church, was an evolution that was compelled to wait on revelations, which the Prophet began receiving for the church on the day of its organization.

The first revelation given to the church was to the effect that a history, or record, should be kept in which Joseph Smith should be called a "translator," "prophet," "seer," and "elder of the church," and an "Apostle of the Lord Jesus Christ."

That the spirit of meekness by which the gentle Nazarene won his following was conspicuous by its absence is amply proved by Mrs. Lucy Smith's biography of herself and Joseph, one instance of which will be given. Very naturally the curiosity of the people for miles around was aroused by reports of ' Joe Smith's gold Bible" and its translation by means of the "Urim and Thummim." Also the peculiar tenets of the new faith were a matter of intense interest among a people whose chief source of local information was by means of neighborhood gossip that preceded the country newspapers as a means of intercommunication. Soon after the translation of the record, several gentlemen called on Mrs. Smith and asked:

"Mrs. Smith, we hear that you have a gold bible; we have come to see if you will be so kind as to show it to us."

"No, gentlemen," said I, "we have no gold bible, but we have a translation of some gold plates, which have been brought forth for the purpose of making known to the world the plainness of the gospel, and also to give a history of the people which formerly inhabited this continent." I then proceeded to relate the substance of what is contained in the Book of Mormon, dwelling particularly upon the principles of religion therein contained. I endeavored to show them the smilarity between these principles, and the simplicity of the gospel taught by Jesus Christ in the New Testament. "Notwithstanding all this," said I, "the different denominations are very much opposed to us. The Universalists are alarmed lest their religion should suffer loss, the Presbyterians tremble for their salaries, the Methodists also come, and they rage, for they worship a God without body or parts, and they know that our faith comes in contact with this principle."

After hearing me through, the gentlemen said, "Can we see the manuscript, then?"

"No, sir," replied I, "you cannot see it. I have told you what it contains, and that must suffice."

The predominating trait in men is that of egotism, and is more conspicuous in the unlearned than in the learned. "There is a pride of ignorance that is greater than the pride of knowledge." And in no branch of human research is that pride so conspicuous as in religion and politics—on hardly any other topics are men so sensitive and "touchy."

In the proselyting of the Prophet and his followers there was nothing of delicate persuasion. They *knew* they were right and went after the "sectarians" with bare knuckles of which the quotation just made from the "arguments" of the Prophet's mother is a fair sample.

As a matter of course, many of the professors of other religions were highly incensed because of the arrogance of the Mormon missionaries which they frequently resented with physical force. The alternative of the being "eternally damned" or the acceptance of the new gospel invited both contempt and friction.

The mistaken policy of the opponents of Mormonism soon placed in the hands of the followers of the modern Prophet a new weapon—the cry of "persecution." It was the last evidence the Saints required to prove to them that they were, indeed, the true, exclusive disciples of Him crucified.

In order that one may more clearly understand the exact position of the Mormon church in its claim of absolute exclusiveness, and its God-given right to govern its members, spiritually and temporally, and the world politically, a few excerpta from the writings and sermons of the Mormon apostles and other leaders of their church will be given. And in so doing it will be necessary to quote from sermons and writings of the presidents and apostles of the Moromn church from its inception down to the present time. An attempt is made to give the excerpta in the order of their relation.

"The first principle of our cause and work is to understand that there is a prophet in the church, and that he is at the head of the Church of Jesus Christ on earth. Who called Joseph Smith to be a prophet? Did the people or God? God, and not the people, called him. Had the people gathered together and appointed one of their number to be a prophet, he would have been accountable to the people, but, inasmuch as he was *called by God*, and not by the people, he is *accountable to God only*, and the angel who committed the gospel to him, and *not to any man on earth.* The twelve apostles are accountable *to the prophet and not to the church* for the course they pursue, and we have learned to go and *do as the prophet tells us.*"—Brigham Young in 1843; "Millenial Star," Volume 21, page 741.

"Listen to that which you have heard today from brother Brigham; he is our leader, our Prophet, our Priest, and our Governor—the Governor of the Territory of Utah. In him is every power and key of celestial life and salvation, pertaining to every person there is on this earth, and that is a principle which but few persons realize."—Heber C. Kimball; "Journal of Discourses," Vol. 3, page 197. January 27th, 1856.

"Now, whatever I might have obtained in the shape of learning, by searching and study respecting the arts and sciences of men—whatever principles I may have imbibed during my scientific researches, yet, if the prophet of God should tell me that a certain principle or theory which I might have learned was not true, I do not care what my ideas might have been, I should consider it my duty, at the suggestion of my file leader, to abandon that principle or theory."—Apostle Wilford Woodruff; "Journal of Discourses," Vol. 4, page 83. April 9, 1857.

"The fact of the matter is, when a man says, 'You (Joseph F. Smith) can direct me spiritually, but not temporally,' he lies in the presence of God; that is, if he has got intelligence enough to know what he is talking about."—President Joseph F. Smith. From sermon in Provo, April, 1896.

Out of the thousands of similar utterances that prove beyond controversy the law of *unquestioning obedience* to the "Prophet, seer and revelator," who, at any time, stands at the head of the Mormon church, the foregoing excerpta are ample to prove that any Mormon has a choice between abject political slavery within the church, or freedom outside the church.

That the Mormon church, by virtue of its claimed divine origin and authority, is a political organization is abundantly proved in the following quotations from the writings and sermons of its leaders. Apostle Orson Pratt begins his tract, "The Kingdom of God," (Part I) with the following unequivocal and significant declaration:

"The Kingdom of God is an order of government established by divine authority. It is the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe. All other governments are illegal and unauthorized. God, having made all beings and worlds, has the supreme right to govern them by his own laws, and by officers of his own appointment. Any people attempting to govern themselves by laws of their own making, and by officers of their own appointment are in direct rebellion against the Kingdom of God."

At the beginning of the next paragraph Apostle Pratt wrote:

"The Kingdom of God is a theocracy. And as it is the only form of government which will redeem and save mankind, it is necessary that every soul should be rightly and thoroughly instructed in regard to its nature and general characteristics:

the beauty, glory, power, wisdom, and order, of the Kingdom of God may be more fully understood by a careful examination of the following subjects."

"What then, has been the position of the world for generations past? They have been governed by rulers not appointed of God; if they were appointed by Him, it was merely as a scourge to the people for their wickedness, or for temporary rulers in the absence of those whose right it was to govern. They had not the legitimate rule, Priesthood, and authority of God on the earth, to act as His representatives in regulating and presiding over the affairs of the kingdom."

"Perhaps it may be well, at this stage of my remarks, to give you a short explanation of my ideas on government, legitimacy, or Priesthood, if you please. The question, 'What is Priesthood?' has often been asked me. I answer, it is the rule and government of God, whether on earth, or in the heavens; and it is the only legitimate power, the only authority that is acknowledged by Him to rule and regulate the affairs of His kingdom." —Apostle John Taylor; "Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 224. April 8th, 1853.

In the same sermon, page 230, Apostle Taylor adds to the above the following plain declaration:

"Let us now notice our *political* position in the world. What are we going to do? We are going to possess the earth. Why? Because it belongs to Jesus Christ, and he belongs to us, and we to him; we are all one, and will take the kingdom and possess it under the whole heavens, and reign over it for ever and ever. Now, ye kings and emperors, *help yourselves, if you can.* This is the truth, and it may as well be told at this time as at any other."

"The Lord God Almighty has set up a kingdom that will sway the sceptre of power and authority over all the kingdoms of the world, and will never be destroyed. It is the kingdom that Daniel saw and wrote about. It may be considered treason to say that the kingdom which that Prophet foretold is actually set up; THAT we cannot help, but we know it is so, and call upon the nations to believe our testimony."—President Brigham Young; "Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 202. April 6th, 1854.

In the foregoing quotations, Apostle Orson Pratt, a "prophet, seer and revelator" of the church, declares that the Kingdom of God is a theocracy, and that, as the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," it was established by the founder of Mormonism.

Apostle John Taylor unreservedly declared that the Kingdom of God is governed by the (Mormon) "Priesthood" under the direct supervision of God. And further, that it has a "political position," standing or mission "in the world."

President Brigham Young adds the high warrant of his endorsement to that of the other prophets, or vicegerents, of Jehovah, and each of them directly, or indirectly, hurls defiance at all earthly governments, which, of course, includes the Government of the United States.

To the facts just stated, add the other fact of unquestioning obedience on the part of the Saints, or subjects of the "Kingdom of God," and the further fact that the Saints in their general semi-annual conferences, and in their local quarterly conferences, "raise their right hands" toward heaven and in the most solemn manner vote to "sustain" the church leaders as "prophets, seers and revelators," and we have every element necessary to the existence of an imperium in imperio, or a theocratic kingdom within, and politically superior to, the Government of the United States.

Such was the alien and despotic religio-civil government launched by Joseph Smith, the Prophet, on the sixth day of April, 1830, and which, from its infancy, was destined to become a disturbing factor in the Government, and within less than seventy years to absolutely control one State and to hold the balance of power in several States of the richest portions of the intermountain country of Western America.

There is little surprise that unbelievers who were in direct contact with the new "Kingdom of God," with its arrogant claims of divine authority in things temporal, were disgusted and inclined to vigorous opposition. Even the Prophet's uncle, Jesse Smith, who had superior advantages for investigating the evidences of the divine origin of Mormonism, scornfully rejected the supernatural claims of his nephew.

Such was the stormy sea upon which the Mormon bark was launched. From the day of its organization down to the present time, whenever the pilots of the "good old ship Zion" needlessly ran her into the breakers, or whenever she sprung a leak, the captains and crew have cried out, "Persecution! Persecution! Persecution!"

CHAPTER VIII

MISSOURI, THE ORIGINAL GARDEN OF EDEN—PRESENT "LAND OF ZION," AND FUTURE SITE OF THE "NEW JERUSALEM"

It is necessary to here retrace our steps and introduce a number of able men who became converts to the Mormon religion prior to the organization of the new church in 1830. They were: Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt and his brother Orson Pratt, each of whom rose to distinction as orators and writers; Sidney Rigdon, Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Edward Partridge and Lorenzo Snow. There were other strong and able men who early became converts to the new faith and who, like nearly all those whose names are given above, were not present at the organization of the church in 1830. Each of them, however, soon became actively identified with the church and played prominent parts in the sifting scenes of drama and tragedy which rapidly succeeded each other in the checkered career of the Saints.

In addition to the brains which those men brought to the aid of the Prophet, several thousand converts had been added to the church which was then in a position to carry on an aggressive campaign of proselyting. And had the Prophet possessed ordinary financial and executive ability, and average practical judgment, Missouri, Illinois and contiguous States, instead of the intermountain region, would now be in a death struggle with the Mormon church for political supremacy.

Soon after the organization of the church, the Prophet received a revelation to move the infant sect from Fayette, New York, to Kirtland, Ohio, where a small temple was subsequently erected.

In obedience to a revelation received during the autumn of 1830, Oliver Cowdry, Parley P. Pratt and two other elders were sent on missions to preach to the Lamanites in the State of Missouri. According to the Book of Mormon, and other less ancient revelations given through Joseph Smith, the Lamanites, or American Indians, are to play an important part in the final triumphant tragedy which will mark the political ascendency of Mormonism over North America. Hence the importance of the early conversion of the Lamanites. (Owing to the gigantic campaign of conversion and conquest which, it is alleged, the Lord mapped out for the youthful Prophet, and the scant time and means vouchsafed by the Lord in which, and by which, to accomplish it, the conversion of the Lamanites has been well nigh abandoned. And it is pertinent to remark that if the Lord doesn't hurry up his "marvelous work, and a wonder" there won't be enough pure-bred, uncivilized Lamanites in existence to perform the work of fearful slaughter that is their mission by virtue of the revelations.)

The flattering reports which Elders Cowdry and Pratt gave of the richness of the Missouri soil, the vast unappropriated resources and genial climate, no doubt suggested to the Prophet the thought that Missouri would be a favorable "gathering place for modern Israel." However that may be, during the June conference, 1831, the Prophet received a revelation to the effect that he and Sidney Rigdon should go to Missouri, and that the future inheritance of the Saints would be made known unto them. (See Roberts' "Missouri Persecutions," page 38.)

Joseph and Rigdon arrived in Independence during the ensuing July, and soon received definite information from the Lord that Missouri was, indeed, the "Land of Zion," and that "the place now called Independence, is the center place, and the spot for the temple is lying westward, upon a lot that is not far from the Court House."—"Doctrine and Covenants," Sec. 57. On August 7th, 1831, the Prophet and his brethren dedicated the hill upon which the temple was to be built during that generation.

The Saints were delighted with the rapidity with which the work of the Lord was progressing, and with their future inheritance as described by those who had visited it. Their extravagant ideas relative to their God-given right to occupy Missouri as an "everlasting inheritance" for themselves and their posterity were fully justified by the frequent and fervid revelations their trusted Prophet was receiving on that subject. Excerpta from a few of those revelations are interesting, as well as necessary, and are given herewith:

"Verily this generation shall not pass away until a house shall be built unto the Lord, and a cloud shall rest upon it, which cloud shall be even the glory of the Lord, which shall fill the house; . . . the sons of Moses, and also the sons of Aaron shall offer an acceptable offering and sacrifice in the house of the Lord, which house *shall be built unto the Lord in this generation, upon the consecrated spot as I have appointed."* For the remainder of the above revelation see "Doc. and Cov.," Sec. 84.

The youngest of that generation is now more than seventy-seven years old; and inasmuch as the "Hedrickites," an alleged "apostate" branch of the Mormon church, hold the title to "Temple Hill," and for which they "will not take all the gold in the world," the effort to fulfill that prophecy by the Utah, or "Brighamite" church is being watched with deep interest by the members of the several branches, or off-shoots, from the original Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The pioneers of Missouri were largely from the Southern States. They took their slaves with them and put them to work on the rich alluvial soil of the river bottom lands which they appropriated.

Missouri came nearer to being a pioneers' paradise than any locality, except Kentucky, on the North American continent. Bee trees and honey were everywhere. The timber land swarmed with wild turkeys. Deer ranged in the wooded hills, while antelope and even buffalo were abundant on the western prairies.

The slaves did nearly all the work, and thus left the whites with ample leisure for hunting, horse racing and other pursuits so dear to the hearts of Southern planters.

The unrestrained environment of the pioneer tends to arouse the latent nature of primeval man. No matter how highly "civilized" the man, the freedom of pioneer life, will, as a rule, soon awaken the worst, and the best, that is in him. The most conspicuous trait that will be aroused is jealousy of that which he conceives to be his "rights." And his "bill of rights" is generally gauged by the quantity of aggressiveness he may have inherited. And it was generally his excessive aggressiveness that sent him west. Under pioneer conditions each man became a law unto himself and continued so until civil law became supreme.

The frontier of any country has been the refuge of adventurers and of criminals driven from law-abiding communities. And Missouri had her full share of the latter. In fact, Missouri had her proportion of the best and worst types of humanity.

Owing to the increasing hostility of the men of the North towards the extension of slavery into new territory the slaveholders of Missouri were acutely jealous of their "rights" in that respect, and were bitterly opposed to anti-slavery advocates settling among them.

The greater portion of the Saints were from the New England and middle States, and were imbued with puritanical ideals of life, morally and industrially. Like all other Northeners they were also imbued with an undying hatred of slavery. Another factor which presaged trouble for the Saints in Missouri was that Mormonism, in some respects, was so alien to all other Christian faiths that they had found it to be impossible to live in peace in the eastern communities. They were intensely devoted to their faith, and fanatically serene in the belief that God was always with them and would guide them on to certain victory over all their "enemies."

The Saints hailed with joy the revelation setting apart and consecrating the "land of Missouri as a gathering place for the Lord's chosen people." In dreams and visions they saw the "promised land" dotted with the homes of the "Saints of God." They saw the "New Jerusalem" in glittering splendor rise from the ancient site of the Garden of Eden. In the midst of the city they saw a magnificent temple reared by the Saints to the worship of their God upon whom, they believed, they had a close monopoly. They saw the cloud by day, and the pillar of fire by night hovering over the sacred "temple of our God." In visions they saw the coming of the Son of Man in majestic power and glory to rule over the world which they had aided to partially redeem, and which they would aid in bringing under the dominion of the Prince of Peace. Such, in substance, were the revelations received by their Prophet, and such were the supplementary dreams of the Latter-day Saints.

Thus was the previous arrogance of the Saints increased and strengthened by the added importance warranted by those later revelations regarding the "Land of Zion" in Missouri.

The fact that the Prophet led his people into the very jaws of death which opened wide in Missouri proves the absolute sincerity of his faith in his own supernatural gifts. In truth, his confidence in the genuineness of the revelations he believed that he received was such that, seemingly, he was incapable of reasoning from cause to consequence.

The conquest of Missouri was, however, to be one of peace by purchase, if that were possible. The Saints were admonished to turn into the treasury all of their surplus funds for the purchase of land. The church would then parcel out to each head of a family an "inheritance" of land sufficient for their needs, the occupancy of which was to be contingent on his faithfulness and loyalty to his religion. Thus was the "spiritual" and "temporal" completely merged, and with the disadvantage to the church in that if a man lost his faith in the "spiritual" part of Mormonism, he would be compelled to be a hypocrite in order to continuue his grip on the "temporal" part of his religion. Thus, it was that the Prophet hoped, in western parlance, to secure a "lead-pipe cinch" on his followers.

Through the preaching of Oliver Cowdry and Parley P. Pratt to the Lamanites in Missouri, and, incidentally, to the whites, the old settlers had advance information of the doctrines of the Saints, and in a vague way, of the designs of the church upon their commonwealth.

During his visit to Missouri the Prophet formed some very decided opinions regarding the intellectual and moral status of the old settlers, which, no doubt, he freely expressed to the Saints. Joseph's autobiography contains the following:

"But our reflections were great, coming as we had from a highly cultivated state of society in the East, and standing now upon the confines, or western limits, of the United States, and looking into the vast wilderness of those who sat in darkness; how natural it was to observe the degradation, leanness of intellect, ferocity and jealousy of a people that were nearly a century behind the times, ..."

The Lord, through Joseph, intensified the interest of the Saints by revealing to them that the Garden of Eden was planted in the favored land of Missouri. It was near Independence that the first love story ever told on this planet was whispered in the ear of Eve. It was there that Cain and Abel frolicked in their youth, and dreamed not of the tragedy that awaited them. It was in Missouri that Joseph discovered one of the altars upon which our venerated ancestor—"our Father and our God"—offered sacrifices. Also, in that favored land, the Prophet discovered the grave of Adam.

Could the people of Missouri be made to realize the historic value of their State, and of the genuineness of the archaeological treasures which exist within her borders, and at the same time convince the people of the world of those important alleged facts, it would become an asset so vast that it would fully compensate them for the slight trouble they have had with the Saints, and go far towards rewarding them for the trouble that surely awaits them when the Saints return to the Missouri "Land of Zion."

In addition to the veneration that the archaeological discoveries of Joseph inspired in the hearts of the Saints for the "Land of Zion," their faith was strengthened, and their cupidity aroused, by the following revelation received by the Prophet in Kirtland in 1831:

"I will consecrate the riches of the Gentiles unto my people which are the house of Israel."—"Doc. and Cov.," Sec. 42.

"If ye are faithful ye shall assemble yourselves together to rejoice on the land of Missouri, which is the land of your inheritance, which is now the land of your enemies."—"Doc. and Cov.," Sec. 52.

And as if opening the door for reprisals, with which the Saints were subsequently charged, the following from a revelation given in Kirtland, September 11th, 1831, "Book of Commandments," Chapter 65, is herewith quoted:

"Behold it is said in my laws, or forbidden to get in debt to thine enemies; but behold it is not said at any time, that the Lord should not take *when he pleased and pay as seemeth him good.*

"Wherefore ye are agents, and ye are on the Lord's errand; and whatever ye do *according to the will of the Lord,* it is the Lord's *business,* and *it is the will of the Lord to provide for his Saints,* in the last days, that they may *obtain an inheritance* in the land of Zion."

CHAPTER IX

SAINTS COLONIZE MISSOURI—EXPULSION

The greater portion of the Saints in the Eastern States were poor, and the demands on their slender means to meet the expense of publishing church books, of supporting Joseph and his aids while translating the Bible (St. James translation) and other expenditures, kept them in a condition of poverty. Aside from the reverent fascination which the "Land of Zion" held for the Saints, lands were abundant and productive, hence they were eager to enter upon the "inheritances" which the Lord had provided for his chosen people, and when the signal was given, the Saints lost no time in moving to Jackson county, Missouri.

There is abundant evidence that, from the day of their advent in the "Land of Zion," the Saints were aggressively persistent in their divinely authorized claim to the country, and incidentally, to the political control of their magnificent inheritance.

In the estimation of the Saints, the alleged drunkenness, profanity and horse racing of the Missourians were sufficient to justify the former in assuming an air of lofty contempt for the "old settlers." And the Almighty was their high warrant for regarding the Missourians as being "enemies of the Saints." A class of people infinitely more patient and tolerant than the Missourians would have vigorously resented the divine claims of the Mormons to the country the former had won for themselves and their posterity. To the Missourians the religion of the Saints was excessively distasteful, while the theocratic form of government which they proposed to fasten on the old settlers was alien to the spirit of democracy, and a prospective usurpation of the functions of civil government.

In the presence of such conditions there should be no surprise that the people of Jackson county became restive within the shadow of the ecclesiastical cloud that had begun to form over Missouri, and that was gathering in portentous size and blackness on the eastern horizon.

As before pointed out, the Saints were opposed to slavery, and were Whigs by instinct and education; while the Missourians were generally Democrats and slave owners. Whether true or false, the non-Mormons, or "Gentiles" as the Saints called them, accused the new-comers of tampering with the loyalty of the slaves.

The missionary work of the Mormons among the "Lamanites" (Indians) was construed by the first settlers as a menace to the peace of the State, in that they inferred that the aid of the red-skins was being invoked as one of the agencies by which the Lord would give the "Land of Missouri as an everlasting inheritance to the Saints of the Most High."

The leaders of the Saints and their historians have stoutly denied that there was any tampering with the slaves or with the Lamanites; and that is doubtless true. But the people of Jackson county, through the preaching of the Saints, understood the close relationship of the Lamanites to the Book of Mormon, upon which Mormonism is founded. And the apprehensions of the Missourians were fully justified by the knowledge they had gained of the divinely-predicted part the Indians were to perform in aiding the Saints to obtain political control of this continent.

Early in 1832, the passive opposition to the Saints ceased, and active hostility was manifested by stoning some of the houses of the Saints, shooting their livestock and burning their haystacks.

About one thousand Saints had settled in Jackson county. Many of them were very poor. The eastern Saints had full faith in the words of their Prophet who had said that "Zion is a land flowing with milk and honey," and they were anxious to possess it. Bishop Partridge and other leaders in Independence, and Joseph in Kirtland, endeavored to temporarily restrain the enthusiasts from rushing to Zion, but without avail.

The Saints had established a printing plant at Independence, and were publishing the "Evening and Morning Star" which, too often, contained intemperate matter on the subject of the Saints' mission in Missouri, and quasi-challenges to the old settlers to thwart the purposes of the Almighty. In pursuing that course, however, the Saints had the high warrant of their Prophet, who, by frequent revelations, encouraged his followers in Missouri to stand firm in the presence of "their enemies." On August 2nd, 1833, the Lord, through Joseph, said to Apostle Parley P. Pratt: "Surely, Zion is the City of our God, and surely Zion cannot fail, *neither be moved out of her place;* for God is there, and He has SWORN by the power of His might to be her salvation and her high tower." (Pratt's Autobiography, page 100.) Again, on December 6th, 1833, the Lord, through Joseph in Kirtland, in the following unequivocal language, sought to encourage the Saints in Missouri to cling to the many previous promises of the Lord to the effect that Zion—"the people of the pure in heart," should "not be moved out of her place": "ZION SHALL NOT BE MOVED OUT OF HER PLACE, notwithstanding her children are scattered. And, behold, there is no other place appointed than that which I have appointed, for the work of the gathering of my Saints until the day cometh when there is no more room for them." —"Doc. and Cov.," Sec. 101.

Conditions became so acute that the non-Mormons issued a call for a mass meeting of the residents of Jackson county on July 20th, 1833.

The meeting was largely attended, and a manifesto was formulated that set forth their grievances against the Saints. The latter were charged with being fanatical dupes of an alleged Prophet who holds "personal communication and converses face to face with the most High God," of "speaking in unknown tongues," and "healing the sick," all of which were either delusions or knavery. The serious charge, however, was worded as follows:

"They declare openly that the Lord has given them this County of land, and that sooner or later they must and will have possession of our lands as an inheritance;" etc.

Let any man, saint or sinner, divest himself of personal bias and he will readily concede that the charge last quoted was most serious, and that it was abundantly warranted by the daily talk of the Saints who were, as they most sincerely believed, merely quoting the words of the Supreme Being. And at the rate of the then increase of the Saints over the "Gentiles," the Missourians could discern the time when Jackson county would be under the political control of the Prophet and his followers.

The manifesto declared for the removal of the Saints at once, *"peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must,"* from Jackson county.

Be it said to the credit of Governor Dunklin that he did all that he deemed possible in the interest of justice and peace, to avert the storm that was swiftly enveloping the Saints. All Mormon speakers and historians, in treating of the Missouri persecutions, blame the governor for not using the militia in defense of the Mormons. Governor Dunklin made the effort, but soon discovered that the militia could not be depended upon, and that a serious effort to use them would precipitate civil war within his State.

The governor's efforts to conserve peace were earnestly seconded by many of the conservative people of Missouri, and especially of Jackson county, but to no avail.

In defiance of law, the mob organized and proceeded to carry out its program of rapine and plunder.

The presses, type and other material of the "Evening and Morning Star" were destroyed, and the succeeding months were marked by frequent collisions between the Saints and small bands of mobocrats.

THE REDEMPTION OF ZION

On February 24th, 1834, one of the most inexplicable events that has ever been recorded in the erratic career of the Nineteenth-Century Prophet, occurred at Kirtland. Seemingly in defiance of every rule of common sense, Joseph received a revelation to the effect that he must collect a body of men and go and "redeem Zion." Joseph was to obtain five hundred men if possible, if not, three hundred would answer, or even one hundred, but he must not go with less than one hundred.

With his usual energy the Prophet immediately undertook to carry out the Lord's commission.

Starting with one hundred and fifty men the company increased to about two hundred before they reached Missouri.

The little army was organized into companies of ten, with a captain over each ten, and a commanding officer in the person of the Prophet. An officer to drill the men was also chosen, and the strictest discipline enforced. In every sense of the word it was a military camp, the objective point being Missouri, and if necessary, to redeem the Saints with force of arms.

But one incident that occurred on the march to Missouri will be mentioned, and is quoted in full from Roberts' "Missouri Persecutions," page 135:

"ZELPH"

"After crossing the Illinois River, Zion's Camp passed many of those mysterious earth mounds so common in that section. Mysterious mounds, no, not mysterious to them, for they had with them the record of those who erected them—the Nephites and Lamanites, or, more likely still, the people of Jared.

"While encamped on the western bank of the Illinois, Joseph and others ascended one of the high mounds from which they could overlook the tops of the trees, and see the prairies beyond. On top of the mound they found three stone altars, erected one above the other, 'according to the ancient order,' said Joseph. Human bones were scattered about on the face of the ground; and after moving about a foot of soil from the crown of the mound, they found the skeleton of a man nearly complete. Between his ribs was a stone arrowhead, which, doubtless, had produced his death.

"The visions of Joseph's mind the following day were opened, and he learned that this man whose skeleton they had found was named Zelph. He was a white Lamanite; the curse of the black skin had been taken away from him because of his righteousness. He was a noted character, a warrior and chieftain under the great prophet Omandagus, who was known from the hill Cumorah to the Rocky Mountains. He was killed in the last great struggle between the Lamanites and Nephites by the arrowhead found between his ribs."

Notwithstanding the military pomp that attended the advent of "Zion's Camp" into Missouri, it was a total failure so far as the "redemption of Zion" was concerned. It would seem that the peaceful negotiations with Governor Dunklin and other State officers, entered into by the Prophet, would have been fully as successful without the farcical military display that signalized the advent of Joseph into Missouri. The only tangible effect it had was to further incense the Missourians against the Saints.

The Lord, because of the "unfaithfulness of his people" as the Prophet alleged, seemed to have forsaken them, and finding themselves outnumbered, they agreed to move north into Clay county, where vacant land was abundant. Another advantage was that the Missouri River and many miles of sparsely settled territory would be between the Saints and their relentless foes in Jackson county.

It was early in November, 1834, when the Saints began their exodus from their inheritances in Jackson county.

The suffering from cold and hunger endured by the Saints during their march over the bleak prairies is graphically and eloquently told by Elder B. H. Roberts, and by other writers who have no sympathy with the Mormon religion. And all agree that the patience and fortitude of the Saints were a remarkable vindication of their sincerity and devotion to their faith.

The entire population of Clay county, at the date of the arrival of the Saints, was about six thousand souls. The old settlers offered no resistance to the entrance of the Saints, and in many cases treated them with kindness and hospitality. In fact, the treatment of the Clay county people was such that they were dubbed "Jack Mormons" by the Jackson county residents, who did all in their power to create trouble between the old settlers and the Mormons.

The Saints also settled in the adjoining counties of Daviess and Caldwell.

About three years of peace followed the arrival of the Saints. And had they been able to have kept silent about the land of Missouri having been set apart and "consecrated as an everlasting inheritance" for themselves and their posterity, results might have been entirely different.

W. W. Phelps, former editor of the "Evening and Morning

Star," and one of the leading Mormons in Missouri, in a letter to the Prophet in Kirtland, cited the principal cause for the tempest that was again to burst on the devoted followers of Joseph Smith.

An extract from the letter, printed in the "Millennial Star," Vol. XIV, page 646, Liverpool, England, is given herewith:

"Our people fare very well, and, when they are *discreet*, little or no persecution is felt."

During the three years of comparative peace enjoyed by the Saints, the city of Far West, Adam-ondi-ahman and other towns had been established.

But the remarkable activity of the Saints' memories of revelation, and their credulity in the matter of its fulfillment, outweighed the memory of their expulsion from Jackson county. They distinctly remembered the following:

"I have delivered thine enemy into thine hands, and then if thou wilt spare him, thou shalt be rewarded for thy righteousness. Nevertheless, thine enemy is in thine hands, and if thou reward him according to his works thou art justified; if he has sought thy life, and thy life is endangered by him, thine enemy is in thine hands and thou art justified."—"Doc. and Cov.," Sec. 98.

The foregoing was supplemented and accentuated by events that occurred in the Kirtland temple at the date of its dedication. The following account of those events is from the autobiography of the Prophet, "Millenial Star," Vol. XV, pages 727-728. About three hundred of the brethren were present in the temple and had completed the ordinance of washing each other's feet. The Prophet then says:

"The brethren then began to prophesy blessings on each other's heads, and cursings upon the enemies of Christ who inhabit Jackson county, Missouri, and continued prophesying and blessing them and sealing them, with hosanna and amen, until nearly seven o'clock p. m. The bread and wine were then brought in. While waiting, I made the following remarks, 'I want to enter into the following covenant, that if any more of the brethren are slain or driven from their lands in Missouri by the mob, we will give ourselves no rest until we are *avenged* *of our enemies to the uttermost.'* This covenant was sealed unanimously, with a hosanna and an amen."

To the uninspired vision it would seem that the total failure of the mission of Zion's Camp would have deterred the Prophet from entering into any more "covenants" with his brethren to avenge the persecutions of his people; so long, at least, as the question remained one of the Missourians versus the revelations of Joseph Smith.

As a matter of course, the incidents associated with the dedication of the Kirtland temple soon reached the Saints in Missouri. As the report spread from mouth to mouth the incidents were greatly exaggerated. According to rumors "the heavens were opened and angels were seen descending and ascending, and ministering unto the Prophet and his brethren." (Subsequently at the dedication of the Salt Lake Temple, the Saints heard, or thought they heard, the soft, but thrilling strains of music, and the sweet tones of angelic voices singing anthems to the Most High. The stories were circulated with such persistence throughout the Utah Land of Zion that the church authorities, through the "Deseret News" or church organ, were constrained to deny the reports, and to explain that it was the Tabernacle choir that had been purposely secreted in order to lend effect to the important occasion, but with no thought of deceiving the people.)

The reports of the incidents in the Kirtland temple served to strengthen the faith of the Saints in the fulfillment of the prophecies concerning their occupancy of Missouri, and they were not slow in repeating the stories to their "enemies." And thus were the smoldering embers of dislike continually fanned into the fierce fires of hatred and persecution against the Saints.

The climax of divinely-authorized defiance was, however, on the fourth of July, 1838, in Far West, Clay county, Missouri. The day was marked by a dual celebration—the laying of the corner stone of a future temple, and of Independence Day.

In his "Missouri Persecutions," page 192, Elder Roberts says that "Joseph Smith was president of the day; and his brother Hyrum, vice-president, Sidney Rigdon, orator, and Reynolds Cahoon, chief marshal. They marched in procession through the town and at last formed a circle around a large excavation—one hundred feet long by eighty feet wide—in the public square."

The laying of the corner stone was followed by "speeches, music, prayers, and reading of the Declaration of Independence," etc. Sidney Rigdon then delivered the oration, of which one paragraph, only, is quoted by Elder Roberts, and is herewith reproduced:

"Our cheeks have been given to the smiters, our heads to those who have plucked off the hair. We have not only when smitten on one cheek turned the other, but we have done it again and again, until we are wearied of being smitten, and tired of being trampled upon. We have proved the world with kindness, we have suffered their abuse, without cause, with patience and have endured without resentment until this day, and still their violence and persecutions do not cease. But from this day and this hour we will suffer no more. We take God and all his Holy Angels to witness, this day that we warn all men, in the name of Jesus Christ, to come on us no more forever; from this hour we will bear it no more, our rights shall not be trampled upon with impunity; the man, or set of men, who attempt it do it at the *expense of their lives.* And that mob that comes on us to disturb us, it shall be between us and them *a war of extermination; for we will follow them until the last drop of their blood is spilled* or else they will have to *exterminate* us, for we will carry the *seat of war to their own houses and their own families,* and one party or the other *shall be utterly destroyed.* Remember it then, all men, we will never be the aggressors, we will infringe on the rights of no people, but shall stand for our own until death. We claim our own rights and are willing that all others shall enjoy theirs. No man will be at liberty to come into our streets, to threaten us with mobs, for if he does, *he shall atone for it before he leaves the place;* neither shall he be at liberty to vilify or slander us, for suffer it we will not, in this place. We therefore take all men to record this day, that we proclaim our liberty this day, as did our fathers, and we pledge this day to one another our fortunes, our lives and our sacred honors, to be delivered from our persecutions which we have had to endure for the last nine years, or nearly that time. Neither will we indulge any man, or set of men, in instituting vexatious law suits against us, to cheat us out of our rights; if they attempt it we say woe unto them. We, this day, then, proclaim ourselves free with a purpose and determination that can never be broken, no never! no never! no never!"

Elder Roberts is sufficiently candid to brand Elder Rigdon's oratorical effort as having been "unwise and intemperate," but partially, at least, condones it in the following words:

"Sidney Rigdon, orator of the day, stirred with indignation in contemplating the sufferings the Saints had endured, allowed his eloquence to carry him beyond the limits of calm wisdom."

But Sidney Rigdon was the First Counselor to Joseph Smith, the only Prophet and seer of Almighty God on the Earth. Had the Prophet died at that time doubtless Sidney Rigdon would have succeeded to the prophetic gifts and powers of the chief vicegerent of Jehovah. And the unbeliever in Mormonism is justified in asking: "Why did the Almighty permit his second representative to become so 'stirred with indignation' as to utterly thwart the promises the Lord had made to the Saints in Missouri?"

But Sidney Rigdon did not permit "his eloquence to carry him beyond the limits of calm wisdom." Elder Rigdon's oration was delivered from manuscript and had been thoroughly considered and digested before its delivery. Nor can Elder Roberts' implied assertion that the Prophet repudiated the "unwise" defiance and threats of Rigdon be taken at the value intended by the eloquent author of "Missouri Persecutions."

The correction "by the Prophet Joseph" was not made during the celebration, if at all. And why should the Prophet disclaim, or repudiate, sentiments which he had repeatedly uttered, and which, as Joseph averred, were also the sentiments of the Almighty! Sidney Rigdon in that history-making oration, merely voiced the sentiments that were throbbing in the brains of every Saint in Missouri from the Prophet down to the most fanatical and obscure member of the Mormon church.

Rigdon's declaration of a "war of extermination" preceded that of Lilburn W. Boggs (the inhuman wretch that succeeded the pacific Governor Dunklin), by only three months and twenty-two days, and serves to illustrate the rapidity with which events succeeded each other in one of the most terrible dramas of modern times.

The objective point of this volume is to illustrate the eternal truth that an active political theocracy cannot peacefully exist within a civil government comprised of members having diverse religious and political views, and who combine in an effort to guarantee personal liberty to each member of the government consistent with the rights of all other members.

Because of the imposed restrictions of this volume, there is not space to further discuss the respective merits of the controversy that ended in the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri. Nor is there any necessity for describing the awful butchery of the Saints at Haun's Mill by an insensate mob whose hearts were stone-cold to every feeling of mercy and pity, and whose souls were dead to every principle of morality and decency. They were the dregs of eastern cities, the scum of Missouri, fiends incarnate, that would disgrace the infernal regions. And Lilburn W. Boggs was practically the commander-in-chief of that horde of ruffians.

The Latter-day Saints, because of insufficient information on the subject, or the inability to divest themselves of prejudice, have ever held the entire people of Missouri responsible for the massacre at Haun's Mill, and for the indescribable sufferings of the Saints consequent to their forced retreat from Missouri. More, the Saints hold the Government of the United States indirectly responsible for those acts of barbarism. There is no more justice or sense in holding the State of Missouri or the United States, responsible for local acts of violence in Jackson, Clay, Daviess, Caldwell and other counties, than there would be on the part of the United States to hold the rank and file of the Mormons responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre which was engineered and perpetrated by Mormon fanatics and devils incarnate down in the southwestern part of Utah.

Elder Roberts, in his "Missouri Persecutions," uses the following words:

"I impeach the State of Missouri before the Bar of Nineteenth Century Civilization, and affirm that in the five years between 1833 and 1838, she permitted and became a party to acts of robbery, violence and blood which are a disgrace to the age and its boasted spirit of progress and toleration."

In concluding his complete and trenchant "impeachment of Missouri," Elder Roberts proclaims the fact that his highly partisan history of the Missouri persecutions, was written "for the youth of the Latter-day Saints."

Let Elder Roberts gather a hundred or so of the "youth of the Latter-day Saints," and take them down to the Mountain Meadows. Let him stand, as the writer of this has stood, by the mound of boulders that cover a common grave. Let Elder Roberts point out the topography of the locality to the "youth of the Latter-day Saints," and explain to them how easy it was for John D. Lee, John M. Higbee, Samuel M'Curdy, William Bateman, Samuel Knight, Bishop Philip Klingensmith and others to entrap and murder one hundred and twenty emigrants. Let Elder Roberts describe how the survivors of a four days' attack were induced to surrender under a flag of truce, and how, after disarming them, Lee and his fiends incarnate cut their throats and otherwise butchered them.

Then let Elder Roberts tell those young Mormons how Brigham Young and the Mormon church have been held responsible for that inexpressibly treacherous and diabolical deed. Then let Elder Roberts truthfully tell his youthful auditors that Brigham Young and the Mormon people, as a people, had absolutely nothing to do with the Mountain Meadows massacre; and then ask them if it is just of the people of the United States to hold them responsible for that most terrible deed.

Then let Elder Roberts explain to them that the Saints were driven from Missouri under the authority of Governor Boggs, for whose unholy abuse of power the people of Missouri can no more be held responsible than the people of the Roman Empire be held responsible for the inhuman conduct of the infamous Nero.

Then let Elder Roberts further explain to those young Saints [illegible] basic cause of the Missouri trouble was the effort on [illegible] of the Mormon leader to establish a political theocracy within the confines of Missouri. And let Elder Roberts add that whenever and wherever there has been a union of church and state the people have been slaves; and that in nearly every instance where divorcement of church and state was effected, the land was deluged with blood and tears.

Elder Roberts could then profitably read to his young auditors the following excerpt from a sermon delivered by Elder George A. Smith, counselor to President Brigham Young, in Salt Lake City, April 6th, 1856. "Journal of Discourses," Vol. III, page 284.

"The wife of Thomas B. Marsh, who was then President of the Twelve Apostles, and sister Harris, concluded they would exchange milk, in order to make a little larger cheese than they otherwise could. To be sure to have justice done, it was agreed that they should not save the strippings, but that the milk and strippings should all go together. Small matters to talk about here, to be sure, two women's exchanging milk to make cheese.

"Mrs. Harris, it appeared, was faithful to the agreement and carried to Mrs. Marsh the milk and strippings, but Mrs. Marsh, wishing to make some extra good cheese, saved a pint of strippings from each cow and sent Mrs. Harris the milk without the strippings. Finally it leaked out that Mrs. Marsh had saved strippings, and it became a matter to be settled by the Teachers. They began to examine the matter, and it was proved that Mrs. Marsh had saved the strippings, and consequently had wronged Mrs. Harris out of that amount. An appeal was taken from the Teachers to the Bishop, and a regular Church trial was had. President Marsh did not consider that the Bishop had done him and his lady justice, for they decided that the strippings were wrongfully saved, and that the woman had violated her covenant.

"Marsh immediately took an appeal to the High Council, who investigated the question with much patience, and I assure you they were a grave body. Marsh being extremely anxious [illegible] maintain the character of his wife, as he was the Presiden[illegible] the Twelve Apostles, and a great man in Israel, made a desp[illegible] defence, but the High Council finally confirmed the [illegible] decision.

"Marsh, not being satisfied, took an appeal to the First Presidency of the Church, and Joseph and his Counselors had to set upon the case, and they approved the decision of the High Council.

"This little affair, you will observe, kicked up a considerable breeze, and Thomas B. Marsh then declared that he would sustain the character of his wife, even if he had to go to hell for it.

"The then President of the Twelve Apostles, the man who should have been the first to do justice and cause reparation to be made for wrong committed by any member of his family, took that position, and what next? He went before a magistrate and swore that the Mormons were hostile towards the State of Missouri.

"That affidavit brought from the government of Missouri an exterminating order, which drove some fifteen thousand Saints from their homes and habitations, and some thousands perished through suffering the exposure consequent on this state of affairs."

Thus did one of the really great leaders of the Mormon church absolve Missouri from blame. More, President Smith's statement of facts discredits Elder Roberts' somewhat torrid and frothy *Impeachment of Missouri*, and transfers the responsibility to a Mormon quarrel over a few pints of "strippings."

In quoting from the Marsh affidavit, referred to in the foregoing excerpt from the sermon of President George A. Smith, Elder Roberts selects two separate sentences and merges them into one paragraph as follows:

"They have among them (the Mormons), a company of all that are considered true Mormons, called Danites, who have taken an oath to support the church in all things, whether right or wrong. I have heard the Prophet say that he would yet tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies; that, if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mohammed to this generation, and that he would make it one gore of blood from [illegible] Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean."

Elder Roberts does not use quotation marks in his excerpt, [illegible] is not one Saint in one thousand that would notice [illegible] at quasi-deception.

There is no doubt that Elder Roberts introduced the sentence which refers to the "Danites" with the express purpose of rebutting it, which, after disclaiming the motives and aims of the Danite band, he does in the following brief paragraph:

"This is the history of the Danite band 'which,' says the Prophet Joseph, 'died almost before it had an existence.' "

The ungarbled paragraph from which Elder Roberts selected the second sentence of his quotation is as follows:

"The plan of said Smith, the Prophet, is to take this state; and professes to his people to intend taking the United States and ultimately the whole world. The Prophet inculcates the notion, and is believed by every true Mormon, that Smith's *prophecies are superior to the law of the land.* I have heard the Prophet say that he would tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies; that, if he was not let alone, he would be a second Mohammed to this generation, and that he would make it one gore of blood from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean."

The reader will easily notice that the first two sentences in the correct excerpt just quoted from Marsh's affidavit are far more important in throwing light on the real cause for the expulsion of the Saints, than the sentence referring to the inconsequential "Danites" which Elder Roberts ingeniously transferred from another section of the affidavit.

The first sentence of the correct quotation embodies the worldwide plan of subjugation that was breathed in nearly every revelation received, and in nearly every sermon delivered by the Prophet.

The second sentence was the absolute truth then as it is today. There never was, nor ever will be, a "good and faithful" Latter-day Saint who does not believe "that Smith's prophecies (and revelations) are superior to (and more binding than) the law of the land." The very essence of those revelations compels the belief that they are superior to the laws of men and nations. And whenever any Latter-day Saint denies the world-wide policy of subjugation he brands himself a monumental hypocrite —harsh words, but true. It is the revulsion of feeling [illegible] comes to men and women when they surrender their faith in the prophecies, and in the temporal triumph of Mormonism, that drives so many so-called "apostates" into the cheerless desert of skepticism. They rarely ally themselves with any other denomination. "If those revelations don't mean what they say," says the disgusted Mormon-apostate, "the entire system falls to the ground, and with it there naturally crumbles the entire fabric of Christianity."

Elder Roberts knows the foregoing statements to be true, hence his anxiety, and really ingenious efforts, to shift the responsibility for the expulsion of the Saints, from the logical sequences of revelation and prophecy, to the shoulders of the Missourians.

Seventy years have been unrolled from the scroll of time since the Saints were banished from Missouri. But the present-day prophet of the Lord is endeavoring, by superior inspiration, to fulfill the prediction of his uncle, the Prophet Joseph.

It is currently reported that the Mormon church has purchased the land surrounding the "Temple lot" in Independence, and that, as a preliminary step to the return of the Lord's "Chosen People" to the Jackson county "Land of Zion," a plow factory has been established by the church in Independence.

It is also a significant fact, instead of being gathered to the Utah Zion, the Saints are advised to remain "in the world." And, as it is believed, with the intention, later on, to have them gather to the Missouri Zion. And the kind of reception they are likely to receive may be inferred from the following clipping which was published in all the Salt Lake papers of June 29th, 1908:

"ROLLA, Mo., June 28.—Twenty-two Mormons, who arrived here yesterday to preach Mormonism on the street, were 'egged' last night and afterward drenched with water from a fire hose. The water was not turned on the preachers until the eggs, a band of music and the preaching of a Salvation Army corps had failed to break up the meeting.

"An egg was broken on the head of one of the Mormons while he was praying. The water caused the Mormons to take to their heels. One of the Mormons made a short address in front of the Grant hotel this morning. He said that no further efforts would be made to conduct services in Rolla, and that the band would leave here."

And which appears to prove that the memories of Missourians are better than that of the Almighty, that is, the author of Joseph Smith's revelations.

CHAPTER X

HOSPITABLE ILLINOIS—MISSOURI EXILES TENDERLY CARED FOR

"Destitute" is a poor word with which to describe the pitiable condition of the Mormon exiles in which they undertook the dreary journey from Missouri. The unvarnished, simple story of the exodus of the Saints from Clay and other counties will ever soften the hardest heart and compel sympathetic tears from those who rarely surrender to outward signs of pity. And as the unwinding years become history, and the lingering prejudices are interred in the graves of the last survivors of that Mormon hegira, there will come to the hearts of all peoples a sense of justice for those Missouri Saints who had the choice of abandonment of their religion or banishment, and who chose the latter. That is, sympathy and justice will eventually compel their dues unless the leaders of the Mormon people persist in their claims of spiritual superiority, and their divine right to force their political dominion on the world, and continue in the practice of polygamy which their prophetic leaders, in the early nineties, solemnly agreed to abandon.

The sudden flight of the Saints from the homes in which many of them left all their worldly possessions, left them miserably destitute. Those who were permitted to be more deliberate in the preparations for their departure were thus compelled to divide with their more unfortunate companions in misery.

Clothes, bedding, food, cooking utensils, and in fact all the necessities for camp life were distressingly scarce. It was late in the fall when the retreating Saints reached the border land of their late Zion, and their sufferings from cold and hunger while slowly pursuing the long and bleak trail to Clinton, Illinois, can be better imagined than described.

But they reached friends and a temporary resting place. The pitiful condition of the Saints aroused the deepest sympathy of the people of Quincy and the contiguous country. Quincy Democrats called a mass-meeting during February, 1839, and by appointing a relief committee, greatly relieved the suffering of the exiles. The people of Quincy not only performed deeds of charity, but did all in their power to make the new-comers welcome. The spirit of humanity and kindness which the old settlers entertained for the Saints is well illustrated in the closing paragraph of the report of the committee which read as follows:

"We recommend to all the citizens of Quincy that in all their intercourse with the strangers, they use and observe a becoming decorum and delicacy, and be particularly careful not to indulge in any conversation or expression calculated to wound their feelings, or in any way to reflect upon those who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration."

To the stricken Saints such sentiments as those breathed in the paragraph just quoted, were as oil to their wounds, and for the time made them feel that not all the people of the world were their enemies. The welcome they received, and their recollections of Missouri, produced a feeling of deep humility, and inspired them with caution in the matter of proclaiming the divine nature of the mission to which God had called them.

The Democratic Association which had rendered such signal service to the Saints in their hour of need, passed a set of resolutions in condemnation of their political brethren in Missouri, and especially the State government, for its expulsion of the Saints, and because of the cruelties they had heaped upon them. The *entente cordiale* thus established was not local. Elder B. H. Roberts, in his "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," page 23, says:

"Thus with expressions of sympathy and material aid did the people of Quincy assist the exiles and bid them hope for better days. Nor was this kindly feeling confined to the people of Quincy and vicinity; it extended throughout the State; and especially was it exhibited by some of the leading men thereof, including Governor Carlin, Stephen A. Douglas, Dr. Isaac Galland and many others."

At the time of the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri, the State militia arrested Joseph and a few of his brethren, and a court-martial condemned him to be shot on the public square in Far West. But it would seem that the wrath of the Missourians had been so nearly satisfied that those in control hesitated to inflict the decree of death upon the Prophet. Be that as it may, the officers who had Joseph in custody permitted him to escape, and, as some reports have it, advised him not to wait on the order of his going.

There was rejoicing among the Saints in Quincy when, on April 22nd, 1839, their Prophet and seer unexpectedly appeared among them. At his appearance all uncertainty as to the future movements of the Saints was at an end—they were once more under the direct guidance of the Prophet of the Most High. The total collapse of the Prophet's plans for colonizing Missouri with his followers, and the building of the city of the New Jerusalem, and the fearful cost to the Saints and to himself, had, for the time being, humbled his inherited and acquired arrogance. In fact, he was ever on his guard against giving offense and was actively solicitous that his followers avoid friction by every means in their power. And what a world of suffering and sacrifice it would have saved the Latter-day Saints had that same spirit of conciliation and humanity continued to be the guiding policy of the future.

CHAPTER XI

NAUVOO, THE NEW LAND OF ZION

After examining several tracts of land in Iowa and Illinois, Joseph and his brethren selected and purchased, on long time, a large tract of land on the Mississippi River, in Hancock county, Illinois. Some of the inheritances in Missouri, amounting to $80,000 were exchanged for lands in the vicinity of Commerce, a small village on the east bank of the Mississippi. The old name of Commerce was changed to that of Nauvoo.

The word Nauvoo, according to the Prophet, is from the Hebrew and signifies "beautiful situation," and a place of rest, and surely the Saints were in need of the latter.

The following description of Nauvoo is from the brilliant and versatile pen of Elder B. H. Roberts.—"Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," page 9.

"The city is at least half encircled by that noble stream, the Mississippi. From its banks the ground rises gradually for at least a mile where it reaches the common level of the prairie that stretches out to the eastward, farther than the eye can reach, in a beautiful undulating surface, once covered by a luxuriant growth of wild flowers and natural grasses, with here and there patches of timber; but now checkered with meadows, and at the time of my visit in 1885, with fields of waving corn.

"Opposite Nauvoo, on the west bank of the river, the bluffs rise abruptly, almost from the water's edge, and are covered, for the most part, with a fine growth of timber. Nestling at the foot of one of the highest of these bluffs, and immediately on the bank of the river, is the little village of Montrose, of which I shall have occasion to speak in these pages. Back of these bluffs before mentioned, roll off the alternate prairie and the woodlands of Iowa. Between Montrose and Nauvoo, and perhaps two-thirds of the distance across the river from the Illinois side, is an island, from three-fourths to a mile in length. and from fifty to one or two hundred yards in width, having its greatest extent north and south."

Notwithstanding the "beautiful situation" of Nauvoo, from the date of its settlement by the Saints in 1839 to the day, in 1846, when the city was evacuated by the Mormons, chills and fever, typhus and other fevers, caused by malaria from the low-lying lands, made of the Nauvoo cemetery a place of eternal "rest" for thousands of the faithful.

In order to keep the record sufficiently intact, it is necessary to here introduce Dr. John C. Bennett, whose pleasing personality and natural and acquired mental gifts had an important influence on the fate of the Prophet, and on the destiny of the Saints. Bennett was from Kentucky, and went to Illinois, where, temporarily, he won considerable distinction as a physician and politician. He was appointed quarter-master general of the State of Illinois. Whether sincere or not, Bennett professed great sympathy for the afflictions of the Saints and subsequently cast his fortunes among them. Within a year Bennett won the confidence of the Prophet, and was made first mayor of Nauvoo, and later became brigadier-general of the Nauvoo Legion. Largely through the influence of John C. Bennett, the Illinois legislature, on December 14th, 1840, granted to Nauvoo a charter, and the new Zion became an important city. Some of the clauses in the charter bestowed exceptional and far-reaching power, in some respects, almost equal to that of the State of Illinois. It was the only city in the State whose charter empowered the city officers to issue writs of habeas-corpus. The granting clause follows:

"The municipal court (of Nauvoo) shall have the power to grant writs of habeas-corpus in all cases arising under the ordinances of the City Council."

And as the city council had authority to "make any ordinances not repugnant to the Constitution of the United States" or the State of Illinois, one can easily comprehend the almost unlimited power embodied in the Nauvoo charter. In every respect the municipality of Nauvoo was an imperium in imperio, and responsible only to the State authorities.

Joseph began the study of law in Missouri, and ably seconded by the astute Dr. Bennett, "concocted" the provisions contained in the charter. The Prophet's own words are given herewith:

"I concocted it for the salvation of the Church, and on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protecting influences, without distinction of sect or party."

In addition to the unusual civil powers embodied in the Nauvoo charter, a clause permitting the organization of the militia, and creating the office of lieutenant-general, and subordinate offices was granted by the Illinois legislature, and made the incumbents responsible only to the Governor of the State.

Under the authority of the charter, the Nauvoo Legion was organized, and on February 3rd, 1841, Governor Carlin commissioned Joseph Smith lieutenant-general.

The "Times and Seasons," a Mormon publication issued in Nauvoo, states that General Smith had a staff of four aides-de-camp and twelve guards, "nearly all in splendid uniforms. The companies presented a beautiful and interesting spectacle. Several of them being uniformed and equipped, while the rich and costly dresses of the officers would have become a Bonaparte or a Washington."

Thus was the "only true church" of the meek and lowly Nazarene placed under the aegis of military pomp and splendor. Thus were combined in Joseph Smith the dual authority of prophet and general—the religious and political in their extreme and unappealable forms, and backed by a city charter which made of Nauvoo a commonwealth in miniature.

There is not the slightest doubt, as subsequent events will abundantly prove, that the hospitable reception given the Saints in Illinois was largely owing to the selfish motives of the State leaders of the Whig and Democratic parties. The leaders of those parties vied with each other in showering favors on the Saints in the hope of winning their political support.

Knowing the Saints had been driven from Missouri under a Democratic administration, the Illinois Democrats were more profuse in their demonstrations of love for the Saints than were the Whigs.

In the election for members of the Illinois legislature in the fall of 1840, the Saints, according to Elder Roberts—"Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," p. 81, scratched the name of Abraham Lincoln on the Whig ticket and "substituted that of Ralston, a Democrat." "Notwithstanding the slight put upon the future great 'emancipator,'" according to Elder Roberts, "when the vote was called on the final passage of the Nauvoo charter, he had the magnanimity to vote for it, and to congratulate John C. Bennett on his success in securing its enactment."

In the campaign of 1841 Joseph used his influence with the Saints in behalf of the Democratic ticket and for the election of Governor Ford. It was done as an act of gratitude for the extraordinary provisions of the Nauvoo charter.

"To my friends in Illinois," was the title of an open letter to saints and sinners, which is given herewith:

"The partisans in this country who expect to divide the friends of humanity and equal rights will find themselves mistaken. *We care not a fig for Whig or Democrat; they are both alike to us;* but we shall go for our friends, OUR TRIED FRIENDS, and the cause of human liberty, which is the cause of God . . . Snyder and Moore are known to be our friends . . . we will never be charged with the sin of ingratitude—*they have served us, we will serve them.*"—Nauvoo "Times and Seasons," Vol. III, page 651.

How familiar to many Utahans is the ring of the letter just quoted, and which, later on, will be again quoted. It became the political slogan of the Mormon prophets for all time.

Oh, that the prophetic brain of Joseph Smith, at that supreme crisis in the existence of his church, could, like Saint Paul, have been pierced by a shaft of divine light, or a bolt of lightning: what a world of immeasurable suffering and sorrow might have been averted, and himself and his devoted followers saved from destruction and banishment—and especially his followers, whose only offense was that of unquestioning credulity.

CHAPTER XII

POLYGAMY—EVIDENCES OF EXISTENCE—EVIDENCES REPUDIATED BY “REORGANIZED” CHURCH

It is now necessary to devote a chapter to the doctrine of plural marriage that was being practised by the Prophet and a select few of the Saints. And there can be no better introduction to the subject than that given by Elder Roberts in “Rise and Fall of Nauvoo,” page 114, from which the following excerpt is taken:

“The revelation making known this marriage doctrine came about in this way: First, it should be stated—and it is evident from the written revelation itself, which bears the date of July 12th, 1843,—that the doctrine was revealed and the practice of it began before the partial revelation now in the “Doctrine and Covenants” was written. As early as 1831, the rightfulness of plurality of wives under certain conditions was made known to Joseph Smith. In the latter part of the year, especially from November, 1831, and through the early months of 1832, the Prophet with Sidney Rigdon as his assistant was earnestly engaged at Hirum, a village in Portage county, near Kirtland, Ohio, in translating the Jewish scripture. It must have been while engaged in that work that the evident approval of God to the plural marriage system of the ancient patriarchs attracted the Prophet’s attention and led him to make those inquiries of the Lord to which the opening paragraphs of the written revelation refer.”

Whether unwittingly or not, in the foregoing, Elder Roberts has furnished an ample foundation for the charges, whether true or false, of adultery that his enemies, and some of his followers, preferred against the Prophet years prior to the date of the alleged revelation on polygamy.

The allaged date of the revelation, as given in the “Doctrine and Covenants,” is July 12, 1843.

That the Prophet had long been contemplating the introduction of plural marriage as an orthodox tenet of the Mormon faith is abundantly proved by another excerpt from Elder Roberts' "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," page 115:

"The doctrine revealed at that time to the Prophet, however, was not made known to the world. But Joseph did make known what had been revealed to him to a few trusted friends, among them were Oliver Cowdery and Lyman E. Johnson, the latter confiding the matter to Orson Pratt his missionary companion. With these and a few other exceptions, the knowledge of the truth and righteousness of this principle of the future marriage system of the church was locked up in the bosom of the Prophet.

"About 1840, however, the Prophet began to be moved upon to make known the doctrine to others. He taught the principle to Joseph Noble, for one, as early as the fall of 1840. According to the affidavit of Noble, given before James Jack, a notary public, in and for the county of Salt Lake, Utah, in June, 1869, Joseph Smith declared to Noble that he had received a revelation from God on the subject, and that an angel of the Lord had commanded him (Joseph Smith) to move forward in the said order of marriage; and further, that said Joseph Smith requested him (Joseph B. Noble) to step forward and assist him in carrying out the said principle. This same man Noble gives the following affidavit with reference to the introduction of the practice of this principle by Joseph Smith the Prophet."

On what date, prior to 1840, the Prophet had revealed the new law on marriage to Oliver Cowdery, is not stated by Elder Roberts. But it is significant that as early as 1837, Cowdery, who was one of the counselors to the Prophet, was excommunicated for:

"First: Persecuting the brethren by urging vexatious lawsuits against them, and thus distressing the innocent.

"Second: Seeking to destroy the character of Joseph Smith, Jr. (the Prophet), by falsely insinuating that he was guilty of adultery."

Elder Cowdery was also charged with being associated with a gang of counterfeiters and uttering bogus money. And this man Cowdery was one of the scribes in translating the Book of Mormon, and subsequently testified before all men, that an angel of God showed the gold plates to him and to two other witnesses.

The statements of Cowdery and others furnish ample warrant that Joseph Smith was practicing polygamy prior to 1837, or before the time that Elder Roberts says Joseph revealed it to Oliver Cowdery.

In support of the inference that the Prophet taught and practiced polygamy even before 1837, the following excerpt from a sermon delivered in Salt Lake City, July 7th, 1847, by the present head of the Mormon church, Joseph F. Smith, nephew of the Prophet, is quoted:

"To put this matter correctly before you, I here declare that the principle of plural marriage was not first revealed on the twelfth day of July, 1843. It was written for the first time on that date, but it had been revealed to the Prophet many years before that, perhaps as early as 1832. . . . It need scarcely be said that the Prophet found no one any more prepared or more willing to lead out in this matter in righteousness than he was himself. Many could see it, nearly all to whom he revealed it believed it, and received the witness of the Holy Spirit that it was of God; but none excelled, or even matched the courage of the Prophet himself."

But the date of the first authentic practice of polygamy is immaterial, except in so far as it accounted for the rumors of illicit marriage relations among the Mormons, inasmuch as the following affidavit of Joseph B. Noble proves that the Prophet had several plurals more than two years before the date of the revelation—July 12th, 1843.

Territory of Utah, } ss.
County of Salt Lake, }

Be it remembered that on the 26th day of June, A. D. 1869, personally appeared before me, James Jack, notary public in and for said county, Joseph Noble, who was by me sworn in due form of law, and upon his oath saith, that on the fifth day of April, A. D. 1841, at the City of Nauvoo, County of Hancock, State of Illinois, he married or sealed Eliza Beaman, to Joseph Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day

Saints, according to the order of Celestial marriage revealed to the said Joseph Smith.

"(Signed) JOSEPH B. NOBLE.

"Subscribed and sworn to by the said Joseph Bates Noble the day and year first above written.

"(Signed) JAMES JACK,
"Notary Public."

The foregoing affidavits are abundantly supported by numerous other affidavits on the matter of Joseph's polygamy. Certain it is, that the Prophet took unto himself the following plural wives: Mrs. Zina D. Huntington Jacobs—wife of a rather weak brother, Henry C. Jacobs, married by Elder Dimmick B. Huntington, brother of Zina, on October 27th, 1841; Miss Eliza Roxy Snow, June 1842, by Elder Brigham Young; two sisters, Emily D. and Eliza Partridge, who were domestics in the Nauvoo house that was owned, and run as a hotel, by Mrs. Emma Smith, wife of the Prophet, according to the affidavit of Emily D., were given to Joseph by Emma, and were married to him March 4th, 1843, by Heber C. Kimball.

The writer of this was well acquainted with, and a frequent visitor at the home of Mrs. Eliza Lyman—nee Partridge, in Fillmore, during the years 1863 to 1867. No more truthful woman ever lived, and she often referred to her marriage to Joseph Smith, the Prophet.

Of the ladies mentioned, and they were ladies in every sense of the word, Brigham Young subsequently married Mrs. Zina D. H. Jacobs, Miss Eliza R. Snow, and Miss Emily D. Partridge, as they were called.

That Hyrum Smith, brother of the Prophet and one of his most trusted advisers, was also a polygamist, is proved by the following affidavit published in the "Deseret News," Salt Lake City, 1904:

"Catherine Phillips Smith, being first duly sworn, says:

"I am the daughter of Thomas Denner and Sarah Goodshall Phillips, and was born in Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania, on the first day of August, 1819. My present residence is East Jordan, Salt Lake County, Utah.

"I was married to Hyrum Smith, brother of Prophet Joseph Smith himself, at Nauvoo, State of Illinois, in August, 1843, in the brick office belonging to my husband, and occupied at the time as a dwelling by brother and sister Robert and Julia Stone, and was witnessed by my mother, sister Stone, and her daughter, Hattie.

"In consequence of the strong feeling manifested at the time against plural marriage and those suspected of having entered into it, I, with my mother, moved to St. Louis near the close of the year, where I was living when the Prophet Joseph and my husband were martyred.

"The purpose of this affidavit is that my testimony to the truthfulness and divinity of plural marriage may live after I shall have passed away; and in this spirit I commend it to all to whom it may come.

"(Signed) CATHERINE PHILLIPS SMITH.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of January, 1903.

(Seal)

L. JOHN NUTTAL,
Notary Public.

"My commission expires March 30th, 1904."

Willard Richards and William Clayton, the trusted secretary and assistant secretary of the Prophet, also married plural wives, as shown by the following statement of Mrs. Alice E. Stevens, and which appeared in the "Deseret News" of April, 1904.

"Afton, Uinta County, Wyoming,
"April 1st, 1904.

"I, having been born in 1836, and living in Nauvoo from 1841 to 1846, and having been acquainted with the Prophet Joseph Smith, do know that polygamy was taught by him, to the Saints there at that time.

"And I do also know that brother William Clayton married as a third living wife, Alice Hardman, who is my aunt. I also do know that Susanna Liptrout was a plural wife of Willard Richards.

"I have also heard much said by my father and mother, as well as others, of the meeting referred to in the "Deseret News." (The meeting at Nauvoo in which Joseph Smith openly taught polygamy.)

"Yours truly,
"(Signed) MRS. ELIZA E. STEPHENS."

In reply to those Latter-day Saints who claimed that polygamy was not taught openly by the Prophet in Nauvoo, the following excerpts are quoted:

"Mesa City, 9th March, 1904.

"President Joseph F. Smith, Washington City, D. C.

"MY DEAR BROTHER:—In reading reports from the Senate Committee on the Reed Smoot case, I see that witnesses are offered to prove that the Prophet Joseph Smith did not authorize or practice polygamy. I do know that he did teach plural marriage, and that he did give to me a plural wife, who is still living with me, and that I saw one of my sisters married to him and *know that with her he occupied my house* on May 16th and 17th, 1843, which *he had occupied with Eliza Partridge, another plural wife,* on the 2nd of the previous month.

"And I do know that at his mansion home he was living with Marie and Sarah Lawrence and one of Cornelius P. Lott's daughters as his plural wives with full knowledge of his wife, Emma, of their married relation to him.

"At that time I was his legal business agent and his business partner at Macedonia or Ramus, and was familiar with his family or domestic affairs; and, occupying as I did, the family mansion after his death, I had much to do in a business way with Emma, the Prophet's *first* wife, who at no time did ever in my hearing, deny the plural character of her husband's family.

"Loyal to the truth, I am always your brother,

"(Signed) B. F. JOHNSON."

"I know of a surety that Joseph Smith did preach the principle of celestial marriage, for I was present at a meeting held in Nauvoo in July, 1843, when he told the people that he had received a revelation on the principle, which was first written on the twelfth of July, 1843.

"(Signed) EVELIN RAWLINS."

"I saw in the "News" of March 17th a statement by N. T. Sicock regarding a meeting held in Nauvoo in July, 1843, wherein the Prophet Joseph Smith delivered a discourse on polygamy. I was present at that meeting and well remember what a talk it created. . . . Brother Hyrum and I were alone at the dinner table, and I asked him if it was a revelation. He never hesitated one moment, but said that it was, and that he had carried that revelation to the high council for their consideration and that all of the high council accepted of it except two.

"(Signed) JAMES LEITHEAD."

The foregoing testimonies are from devout members of the Mormon church, and conclusively prove that polygamy was openly advocated by the Prophet from the public pulpits, or "stands," of Nauvoo.

There is no surprise that a system of marriage so alien to the universally accepted spirit of Christianity, and so obnoxious to nineteenth-century civilization, as that of Mormon polygamy, should have attracted the attention of the people of Illinois, and aroused universal indignation.

The Prophet and some of his advisers heard the faint rush of the fast-gathering storm of opposition and endeavored to check it by duplicity, deception and even by downright lying. Following are a few excerpta from various sources that prove the desperate efforts of the leaders of the Mormon church to discredit the reports that they were practicing polygamy.

In February, 1844 (several months after the polygamy revelation is officially alleged to have been received), the Nauvoo "Times and Seasons" (the authoritative church organ) contained the following signed notice to the world and the church:

"As we have been lately credibly informed that an Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, by the name of Hirum Brown, has been preaching polygamy and *other*

FALSE AND CORRUPTING DOCTRINES, in the county of Lapeer, State of Michigan, this is to notify him, and the church in general, that he is cut off from the church for his iniquity, and he is further notified to appear at the special conference on the 6th of April next, to make answer to these charges.

"(Signed)

"JOSEPH SMITH,
"HYRUM SMITH,
"Presidents of said church."

Again the "Times and Seasons" will be drawn upon to prove that deception was attempted on the general public:

"To the brethren of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints living on China Creek, in Hancock county, greeting:—

"Whereas, Brother Richard Hewitt has called upon me to-day to know my views concerning some doctrines that are preached in your place, and stated to me that some of your Elders say that a man having a certain priesthood may have as many wives as he pleases, and that that doctrine is taught here, I say unto you that that man teaches false doctrine, for there is no such doctrine taught here; neither is there any such thing practiced here. And any man that is found teaching privately or publicly any such doctrine is culpable and will stand a chance to be brought before the high council and lose his license and membership also; therefore he had better be aware of what he is about.

"(Signed) HYRUM SMITH."

The foregoing denials of the existence of polygamy in Nauvoo could be amplified by numerous statements by other leading men of the church, but they are unnecessary.

In the matter of the alleged revelation establishing polygamy as the eternal law of God, we have the unsupported word of Joseph Smith, which appears to be sufficient for tens of thousands of adult Latter-day Saints. But the unbiased critic has the right to examine the consistency on the part of God in giving a revelation and then requiring his prophets to deny its existence, and to lie about its practice.

When confronted with the foregoing glaring inconsistencies, the speakers and writers of the Mormon faith excuse the falsehoods of Joseph and Hyrum on the ground that the time had not yet arrived for the doctrine to be taught to the world, nor to be practised by the rank and file of the Saints. Do the apologists—for that is what they are, for the deception of the Prophet and his advisers—expect men and women of ordinary intelligence to believe that the All-wise and All-powerful would reveal a doctrine in advance of his ability to protect those who obeyed it from persecution and death? Or, in order to avoid the consequences of His premature revelation, can God require His servants to commit the sin of lying? Let those who may believe such inconsistencies, but they should not insist too strenuously on the assumption that all those who have an infinitely higher conception of God's common sense will be damned if they do not receive and practise the doctrine of plural marriage. Indirectly, the Mormon apologists excuse the falsehoods of Joseph, Hyrum, et al., on the ground that they had a precedent in Peter, who denied his Master. But Peter repented of his falsehood. And the entire body of Saints is challenged to cite any evidence where the falsehoods of Joseph and his partners were ever regretted by them, or ever denounced by those who succeeded them in the rôle of prophets, seers and revelators of the Church of Latter-day Saints. In fact, it will be clearly proved before the close of this volume that deception has continued to be the chief weapon of defense by the Mormon prophets, and that the Saints approve of the free use of it in religion and politics which, in the Mormon "Kingdom of God," are absolutely united.

It is significant that Elder B. H. Roberts, who is conceded to be by far the ablest logician and defender of Mormon doctrines and policies in the church, in his "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," is silent about those denials of the teaching and practising of polygamy.

As an illustration of the deep-seated conviction that the practice of the law of plural marriage is inexorably binding on the Saints, the following statement of Apostle John Taylor, who subsequently became president of the church, is quoted from the "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," pp. 116, 117:

"Joseph Smith told the Twelve that if the law was not practised, if they would not enter into this covenant, *then the Kingdom of God could not go one step further.* Now, we did not feel like preventing the Kingdom of God from going forward. We professed to be the Apostles of the Lord, and did not feel like putting ourselves in a position to retard the progress of the Kingdom of God. The revelation says that 'All those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same.' Now, that is not my word. I did not make it. It was the Prophet of God who revealed that to us in Nauvoo, and I bear witness of this solemn fact before God, that he did reveal this sacred fact to me and others of the Twelve, and in this revelation it is stated that it is the *will and law* of God that 'all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same.'

"Some time after these things were made known unto us, I was riding out of Nauvoo on horseback, and met Joseph coming in, he too, on horseback. . . . I bowed to Joseph, and he having done the same to me, he said, 'Stop,' and he looked at me very intently. 'Look here,' said he, 'those things that I have spoken of must be fulfilled, and if they are not entered into right away, the *keys will be turned.*'

"Well, what did I do? Did I feel to stand in the way of this great, eternal principle, and treat lightly the things of God? No. I replied: 'Brother Joseph, I will try to carry those things out.'" So indeed he did, for within two years, in Nauvoo, he married Elizabeth Haigham, Jane Ballantyne and Mary A. Oakley.

Doctor John C. Bennett, the trusted adviser of Joseph Smith, went the Prophet one better, or worse, and preached the doctrine of promiscuous intercourse to the sisters, and, according to all the histories, succeeded in convincing some of them that it was lawful in the sight of God. For his rivalry in that line, the Prophet promptly and justly excommunicated the too amorous doctor, who subsequently became a bitter enemy of Joseph Smith. His enmity reached such heights and depths that he actually testified to the truth regarding the practice of polygamy in Nauvoo.

In justice to the "Reorganized" Church of Latter-day Saints of which Joseph Smith, son of the original Prophet, is president, it should be stated that its leading men vigorously deny that the Prophet Joseph Smith ever had a revelation permitting or encouraging, polygamous marriages. They declare that Brigham Young was alone responsible for its introduction into the original church. And they further allege that the evidences which the followers of Brigham Young use in support of the claim that the Prophet Joseph practised or countenanced polygamy, are spurious and misleading. The scope of this volume precludes any discussion of those differences of opinion. Those who may be interested in the question may write to the Reorganized Church, Lamoni, Iowa, for pamphlets bearing on that feature of Mormonism, and are assured of prompt and interested treatment by the leaders and agents of those who claim to be the rightful legatees of the divine authority alleged to have been bestowed on the original latter-day Prophet.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MORMON CHURCH, A POLITICAL ORGANIZATION—EVIDENCES QUOTED

Present-day leaders of the Mormon church are almost hysterically insistent on their professed loyalty to the Government of the United States. And in doing so they but follow the trail of duplicity which was blazed by the founder of Mormonism.

And it is needful before proceeding with the details of that which led up to the final tragedy and expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo, to refresh the reader's mind on a few cardinal facts that form the very foundation for the existence of the Church of Latter-day Saints, and its remarkable influence over a certain class of minds.

By the most indubitable evidence it has been clearly proved that Mrs. Lucy Smith and her son Joseph—the founders of Mormonism—based the necessity for the existence of the new church on the allegation that all other religious organizations were apostate; that they had departed from the original faith and ordinances as taught by the Savior; that the modern sects had not the priesthood nor authority to "baptize for the remission of sins," nor to "lay on hands for the conferring of the Holy Ghost."

Necessarily, the priesthood and authority of the Son of Man could not be restored to the earth except "by one having authority." Hence the necessity for the appearance of an angel, or celestial personage, or personages, holding the priesthood of John the Baptist, and of the Christ, and the conferring of that priesthood on Joseph Smith, Jr. And by that act, Joseph became the *only* representative on earth of Him crucified, and of His Father—the Creator and Ruler of the infinite universe. Of necessity, such transcendental authority and power would be absolute and unappealable in both religious and civil affairs. Or, in the words of Apostle Orson Pratt,—"Kingdom of God," page 41:

"Any people attempting to govern themselves by laws of their own making, and by officers of their own appointment, are in direct rebellion against the Kingdom of God," of the church and kingdom founded by Joseph Smith.

Add to the foregoing the extravagant promises alleged to have been made by the Lord concerning the Missouri "Land of Zion," and the other fact that the "prophets, seers and revelators" of the Mormon church are believed by their followers to be continuously in touch, as it were, with the governing Power in the universe, and we have the very essence of a religio-political despotism, and in every sense of an imperium in imperio.

So long as the effort to establish that special form of government does not interfere with the temporal rights of other citizens within the imperio, no one would have just cause for complaint. Those within the imperium who objected to the exercise of absolute authority could sever their allegiance to it.

But in a democratic form of government like that of the United States, and which the Mormon people allege was the result of inspiration, the civil, or temporal, and religious rights of individuals are so diverse and interwoven as to preclude the active existence of any organization that, in the exercise of temporal power, infringes on the rights of other citizens.

In its claim to spiritual and temporal absolutism, the Mormon church is entirely consistent. If, as the revelations unambiguously affirm, Joseph Smith and his successors are the only Simonpure and divinely authorized representatives of God on this earth, then was Apostle Orson Pratt fully justified in his statement that all other governments "are in direct rebellion against the Kingdom of God."

The world cannot divest the Mormon church of its claimed right to rule temporally, which is merely another word for politically, without destroying its special claim to divine authority. So long as one exists, the other, as a logical sequence, must also exist. Either Mormonism or the world must make an unconditional surrender—the struggle between them must be fought out to a finish.

Joseph F. Smith, the present chief-prophet of the church, was entirely within his prophetic rights when, at Provo, Utah, in April, 1896, he gave voice to the following unappealable rule or doctrine of Mormonism:

"The fact of the matter is, when a man says, 'You can direct me spiritually but not temporally,' he lies in the presence of God; that is, if he has got intelligence enough to know what he is talking about."

That President Joseph F. Smith had the very highest alleged divine warrant, for his Provo utterance, is proved by a like declaration made by his uncle, Joseph the Prophet, during a conference held in Nauvoo, April, 1844, and which is clipped from the "Deseret News"—the Salt Lake church organ—of July 15th, 1857. The Prophet said:

"God made Aaron to be the mouthpiece of the children of Israel, and He will make me to be God in His stead, and the elders to be mouth for me; and if you don't like it you must lump it."

The above could be re-inforced by similar declarations from numerous greater and lesser lights of the church, but there is no one that can surpass the Smith family when it is a matter of Mormon doctrine and law.

The existence of the doctrine of political supremacy was denied by the Prophet and his advisers with fully as much truth and vehemence as was the doctrine and practice of plural marriage.

In order to impress the people of Illinois with the idea that the Saints were about the most liberal in their toleration of the other religious bodies, the following was inserted among the first ordinances passed by the city council of Nauvoo:

"SECTION I.—Be it ordained by the city council of Nauvoo that the Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Latter-day Saints, Quakers, Episcopalians, Universalists, Unitarians, Mohammedans and all other sects or religious denominations, whatever, shall have free toleration and equal privileges in this city; and should any person be guilty of ridiculing and abusing or otherwise deprecating another, in consequence of his religion, or of disturbing or interrupting any religious meeting within the limits of this city, he shall, on conviction before the mayor or any municipal court, be considered a disturber of the public peace, and fined in any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding six months, or both, at the discretion of said mayor and court."

The insertion of the above section proves two facts: First—that the Saints were aware of the widespread, and entirely justified impression among Gentiles that the Mormon revelations, doctrines, teachings and practices breathed defiance of, and contempt for, human laws and governments, and lofty scorn and intolerance for other religions. Second—inasmuch as the Constitution of the United States, and of Illinois, declared for absolute religious freedom, the introduction into the "code" of the little imperium of Nauvoo was burlesque and an effort to deceive. If not, why enumerate by title the "man made" churches?

During the winter of 1839-1840, the Prophet made a trip to Washington, and endeavored to secure through President Martin Van Buren and Congress substantial compensation for the loss of property sustained in the expulsion of the Saints from Missouri.

The President held that, as Missouri was an independent commonwealth, the Saints must look to that State for compensation. There was no avenue by which Congress could legally appropriate money for damages sustained in any of the States. Van Buren and the majority of the lawmakers were Democrats. The result was that, with the exception of Abraham Lincoln, the Saints solidly voted the Whig ticket.

The following election the Saints reversed their politics and voted the Democratic ticket, giving the nominee for governor a majority of more than one thousand in Hancock county as against the Whig majority of seven hundred fifty-two the year previous. Thus it will be seen that the Saints held the balance of political power in Hancock county, and, in a close election, the balance of power in the State. The political policy of the Prophet in Illinois, can be no better illustrated than by a political sermon by Apostle F. M. Lyman during a priesthood meeting in Beaver City, Utah, 1891, and which will be more fully quoted in the Utah division of this volume. Apostle Lyman said:

"The (church) authorities desire that the people divide themselves about equally between the two great National parties, and that it would be proper for some to remain neutral or independent; that the object in such a division is that we will have more power in the Nation and get a more honest administration from the party in power. Each party will then CATER to us more or less in order to secure control of the Territory."

While the numerical strength of the Saints in Illinois, as compared with those of today in Utah, was extremely small, the political policy was the same. The Prophet was anxious that each party should "cater" to the Saints, and by that means he expected to obtain political control of the State in the interest of his people, and to secure immunity for the church in the practice of plural marriage.

If the Good Father, whom the Saints devoutly believed was watching over the destinies of His chosen people, had given His Prophet a revelation on the subject of "horse" sense in politics, instead of on polygamy, he would have performed an act of signal service to the too credulous followers of Joseph Smith. As it was, the political policy of the Prophet angered both parties, and the forces that would eventually accomplish the undoing of the Saints in Illinois were invoked by acts of inexplicable political folly, or of "inspired" stupidity—Which?

CHAPTER XIV

GROWTH OF NAUVOO—MORE POLITICS—EX-GOVERNOR BOGGS SHOT—MORE TROUBLE FOR THE PROPHET

Within four years from the date of the selection of the site of Nauvoo, a city containing fifteen thousand to sixteen thousand inhabitants had been built. In addition to the converts secured from the Eastern and Southern States, several thousand Saints had arrived from England where a strong mission had been established. Many respectable private dwellings and fine public edifices had been erected. The building of a temple, one hundred twenty-eight feet by eighty-three feet, and nearly sixty feet to the square, was undertaken, and the work well advanced in 1844, and completed in 1845. The completion of the Nauvoo temple, after the death of the Prophet, in the presence of almost famine, and in the face of bitter and relentless opposition, should close the mouths of ignorant carpers regarding the sincerity of the Saints and their devotion to what they firmly believed to be the will of God.

In 1842 an incident in Missouri revived the old hatred against the Mormons. Ex-Governor Boggs, on May 6th, while sitting near a window in the second story of his residence in Independence, was shot in the neck. The shot could hardly have been intended to kill him. While painful and somewhat dangerous, the wound was not deep. As a matter of course the assault on Boggs was charged to an emissary of Joseph Smith. Orin P. Rockwell, one of the Prophet's body guard, was charged with the attempt to kill Boggs, and was taken to Missouri and kept in jail several months. The gun with which Boggs had been shot was dropped to the ground in front of the building. Rockwell denied that the gun, an old musket, was his property, and notwithstanding the vehement charge by the Saints that no Mormon could get justice in Missouri, he was acquitted.

Notwithstanding the acquittal of Rockwell, whom the Saints generally conceded was guilty, but acted on his own initiative, the Missourians "camped on the trail" of Joseph, and never ceased their efforts until they were successful in the attainment of their object.

Largely through the efforts of Dr. John C. Bennett, who had been excommunicated by Joseph for his "promiscuous intercourse" doctrine and its practice, the old charge of treason against Missouri that had been preferred against Joseph in 1838, was revived and an attempt made to return the Prophet to the abandoned Land of Zion.

A requisition from Missouri for Joseph was served on Governor Ford, who had succeeded Governor Carlin, and he issued a warrant for the Prophet on June 17th, 1843. The warrant was served on Joseph in Lee county, Illinois, by Harmon T. Wilson who delivered him to Joseph H. Reynolds, the accredited agent of Missouri.

Joseph fell back on the Nauvoo charter and its authority to issue writs of habeas corpus. The Prophet, at that time, was mayor of Nauvoo, and demanded to be taken before the municipal court of that city.

Wilson and Reynolds refused. But through the efforts of Cyrus Walker, a Whig lawyer and then candidate for Congress, the efforts of Reynolds to take the Prophet direct to Missouri were defeated.

Walker evidently thought he saw a chance to "cinch" the Mormon vote, and declined to defend Joseph unless he pledged his word to vote for him at the ensuing election, and which was given.

After some delay, Joseph, Walker, Reynolds and Wilson went to Nauvoo where the municipal court released the Prophet from the custody of the officers.

On the day of the arrival of Joseph and the party named, he addressed the Saints in the grove near the temple. An excerpt from the Prophet's speech is given herewith:

"I have dragged these men (Wilson and Reynolds) here by my hands, and will do it again; but I swear I will not deal so mildly with them again, for the time has come when *forbearance is no longer a virtue;* and if you or I are again taken unlawfully, *you are at liberty to give loose to blood and thunder*. But be cool, be deliberate, be wise, act with almighty power; and when you pull, do it effectually—*make a sweep-stakes for once!*"

As if partly relenting, the Prophet added: "My lot has always been cast among the warmest hearted people. In every time of trouble, friends, even among strangers, have been raised up unto me and assisted me."

Again the Prophet lapsed into his former passionate defiance: "But before I will bear this unhallowed persecution any longer —before I will be dragged away again among my enemies for trial I will spill the last drop of blood in my veins, and will see all my enemies IN HELL! To bear it any longer would be a sin, and I will not bear it any longer. Shall we bear it any longer?" (One universal "NO!" ran through all that vast assembly, like a loud peal of thunder.)

For the Prophet's intemperate words Elder B. H. Roberts has the following apology:

"In the course of his (the Prophet's) speech he allowed himself to be carried away by the fervor of his eloquence beyond the bounds of prudence; a circumstance, however, that will create no astonishment when the excitement and indignation under which he was laboring, and that arose out of the sense of outraged justice and humanity is taken into consideration. Under such circumstances and from such a temperament as that of the Prophet, we shall look in vain at such times for dispassionate discourse, and more than human must that man be, who under accumulated years of oppression, can always confine his speech, when recounting those wrongs, within the lines that cold, calculating wisdom would draw."

But, according to the faith of the Saints, Joseph Smith, in his calling of Prophet, seer and revelator, should have been far and away above the human weakness of yielding to passion and "eloquence," and especially "eloquence." However, if that kind of an explanation satisfies the really logical mind of Elder Roberts there should be no further criticism.

The intemperate remarks of the Prophet, made in the presence of Wilson and Reynolds who, no doubt, spread them far and wide, largely aided in fanning the slumbering fires that were to almost consume the Saints. There is reason for the thought that at that particular time Joseph was relying more on the strength of the Nauvoo Legion than on the arm of Jehovah, and had, for the moment, forgotten the incident of the "Zion's Camp" fiasco.

From his past experience with the political methods of the Saints, Cyrus Walker, the Whig candidate for Congress, was justified in believing that Joseph's pledge of his vote to him would carry with it the solid Mormon support. And, surely, the one vote of the Prophet was a rather small reward for the time and expense of Walker in his defense of the Prophet and for which he certainly would not have negotiated except on the inference that the vote of the Saints would go with that of Joseph's. And the inference is entirely just that Joseph knew that Walker understood that the Mormon votes would be cast for him. Knowing, as Joseph must have known, the expectations of Walker, the Prophet was plainly guilty of an inexcusable act of wilful deception unless the implied contract were faithfully kept.

But on Sunday, the day before election, Hyrum, Joseph's brother, had a manifestation of the spirit that it "would be to the best interests of the people to vote the Democratic ticket, including Mr. Hoge, the Democratic candidate for Congress." Joseph announced to the assembled Saints the message Hyrum had received, and added:

"I never knew Hyrum to say he ever had a revelation and it failed. Let God speak, and all men hold their peace."

Elder Roberts in his foot-note to his "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," page 243, says:

"The remarks were made at a public meeting soon after the Prophet's release from the custody of Reynolds and Wilson."

Of the several thousand votes cast in Nauvoo, Cyrus Walker, the Whig candidate, received ONE vote—Joseph had sacredly kept the letter if not the spirit of his promise.

Notwithstanding the Prophet's zeal for the Democratic party in the election referred to above, he is credited with having given utterance during the earlier years when he was equally zealous for the Whigs, to the following unambiguous and vehement sentiment:

"All our wrongs have arisen under the Democratic power and authority, (of Missouri) and I have SWORN that this arm shall fall from my shoulder, and this tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, before I will vote for them." (There will be occasion, later on, to again quote the foregoing sentence.)

Early in the year 1844, several candidates for president of the United States had appeared in the political field. Among them were John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay. To each of those candidates Joseph sent inquiries as to what would be their policy toward the Saints in case either of them were elected. Each of those gentlemen replied evasively, and each received a stinging reply from the Prophet.

The sentiment in Illinois, and especially in Hancock county, towards the Saints had become extremely hostile. Had the Evil One, instead of the Almighty, been the guardian of the Saints, and desired their destruction, he could not have selected a better instrument than Joseph Smith. That Joseph loved the Saints, and was absolutely loyal to their interests, is beyond all doubt. The foregoing sentence is not a reflection on his honesty, but on his judgment and prophetic pretentions.

In the very mouth of the slumbering volcano that Joseph ought to have known was liable at any moment to burst forth and overwhelm his people, he announced his candidacy for president of the United States.

A state convention of a rival democracy was called and the Prophet duly nominated. According to Elder Roberts' "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo," page 254, the fifth resolution adopted at the Nauvoo convention read as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the better to carry out the principles of liberty and equal rights, Jeffersonian democracy, free trade, and sailors' rights, and the protection of person and property, we will support General Joseph Smith for President of the United States at the ensuing election."

The convention met on the 17th of June. Little did the Prophet dream of the terrible fate that was to be his within the next ten days.

By the inexplicable conduct of the Prophet in becoming a candidate for president he had alienated the friendship of the only real political friends the Saints had in Illinois. Governor Ford, like Governor Dunklin of Missouri, had been the friend of the Mormon people, and as an act of kindness had advised Joseph to cease electioneering, and to keep out of politics. Joseph denied the implied charge, and paid no attention to the advice.

That the Prophet sensed the dangerous conditions that environed his people, and that he was preparing to remove them to a land where they could live their peculiar religion in peace, and where they would be politically supreme, is shown by the fact that he intended to send a "delegation to investigate California and Oregon." The Prophet, in his journal of February 20th, 1844, says:

"I instructed the Twelve Apostles to send out a delegation, and investigate the location of California and Oregon, and hunt out a good location, where we can remove to, after the temple is completed, and where we can build a city in a day, and have a government of our own, get up into the mountains, where the devil cannot dig us out, and live in a healthy climate, where we can live as old as we have a mind to."

Such was the dream of the Prophet, but which was to be the work of an infinitely greater man than he whom the Saints believed was the special agent of the Almighty in the establishment of his great Latter-day work.

In furtherance of the scheme, Apostles Orson Pratt and Orson Hyde, early in 1844, were sent to Washington for the purpose of interesting Congress. Stephen A. Douglas and others did what they could to secure Government aid in the enterprise but without success. But the Apostles secured valuable information regarding the country over which the Saints were fated to pass.

William Law, one of Joseph's counselors, Wilson Law, the Higbee brothers, Francis M. and Dr. Robert Foster, had been excommunicated. They were extremely bitter, and with Dr. John C. Bennett, had entered into a conspiracy to accomplish the undoing of the Prophet. Had they, too, been inspired, they could not have concocted a more certain scheme for the accomplishment of their object—the destruction of the Prophet—than the one they adopted. On June 7th, 1844, they established the

Nauvoo "Expositor." The first and only number was filled with serious charges against Joseph.

No sooner had the defamatory sheet made its appearance than the city council met and passed the following resolution:

"RESOLVED, By the city council of the city of Nauvoo, that the printing office from whence issues the Nauvoo 'Expositor' is a public nuisance, and also all of said Nauvoo 'Expositors' which may be or exist, in said printing establishment; and the mayor, Joseph Smith, is instructed to cause said printing establishment and papers to be removed without delay, in such manner as he may direct."

The instructions were obeyed to the letter. The press was destroyed, the type pied and the papers burned. However much, under normal conditions, the act might have been justified, it was courting the incidents that now came with a rush.

The abatement of the "Expositor" furnished the last act of defiance that the enemies of Joseph and of the Saints needed in their program of death and banishment. The conspirators fired the "Expositor" building and fled to Carthage, the county seat, where they reported the high-handed action of the Nauvoo authorities. (There are counter reports to the effect that the Saints, after smashing the printing plant, set fire to the building.)

The Prophet was Mayor of Nauvoo as well as Lieutenant General of the Nauvoo Legion. And in order to further impress the Gentiles with the physical force behind the city council in the abatement of the "Expositor" the Legion was summoned to arms. The citizens of Nauvoo were wrought up to an unusual pitch of excitement, and were prepared for stubborn resistance.

The news of the wrecking of the "Expositor" office and the calling out of the Legion spread like wildfire.

Indignation meetings were held at Warsaw and other towns. Carthage, twelve miles from Nauvoo, was greatly wrought up over the statements of the Laws, Fosters and Higbee. The last named swore to a complaint before Thomas Morrison, Justice of the Peace, charging Joseph and members of the city council with riot.

Constable Bettisworth served the warrant on Joseph, who fell back on the habeas corpus clause of the Nauvoo charter, and refused to go.

Committees were organized in Warsaw and Carthage. Red-hot resolutions were passed, and the edict of expulsion or extermination of the Saints was promulgated.

In a number of towns volunteer companies were organized; supplies of food, ammunition, arms and cannon were purchased for the campaign against the Mormons. In fact, the non-Mormons in the country surrounding Nauvoo were preparing for civil war. Joseph heard the rumbling of the social volcano that his prophetic arrogance had stirred from its uneasy slumber. When too late he sensed the shock of the first upheaval—the Prophet's God had forsaken him and his people.

Joseph prepared for flight to the Rocky Mountains. During the night of June 22nd, Joseph, his brother Hyrum, Apostles John Taylor and Willard Richards, departed from Nauvoo, but were intercepted by a number of timid brethren, some of whom unjustly charged the Prophet with cowardice. They implored their leader to surrender himself to the end that the Saints might be spared the vengeance of their enemies. Those appeals were too much for the kindly heart of Joseph, who returned to Nauvoo.

In the meantime Governor Ford had arrived at Carthage and was doing all that he could to quiet the excited state of the public mind. He sent word to Joseph that it would be best for him to surrender, and promised the Prophet protection.

JOSEPH SMITH, THE PROPHET

CHAPTER XV

CURTAIN IS RUNG DOWN.

THE PROPHET AND PARTY GO TO CARTHAGE—WEAKNESS, IF NOT COWARDICE, OF GOVERNOR FORD—JOSEPH AND HYRUM SMITH ASSASSINATED—JOHN TAYLOR BADLY WOUNDED

Joseph and the city council, also charged with riot, left the Nauvoo House at an early hour on the morning of June 24th, for Carthage.

From well-authenticated sources it is certain that Joseph Smith had a premonition of coming events. When some four miles out of Nauvoo the party met a company of mounted militiamen under command of Captain Dunn, who had a requisition from Governor Ford for the State arms then in the possession of the Nauvoo Legion. The men under Captain Dunn were from McDonough county, one of the counties which was friendly to the Saints, but the order for the arms was ominous. The Prophet turned to his brethren and is reported to have said:

"I am going like a lamb to the slaughter; but I am calm as a summer's morning; I have a conscience void of offense towards all men. I shall die innocent, and it shall yet be said of me—'He was murdered in cold blood.'"

Captain Dunn asked Joseph to countersign the requisition. The Prophet complied with that request, and, at the solicitation of the Captain, returned with him to Nauvoo and aided in gathering the arms.

Under the escort of Captain Dunn and his company, Joseph arrived in Carthage about midnight. The Carthage Greys, a local company of militia, received the Prophet with curses and threats of violence if the McDonough men would but stand aside and give them an opening.

It is unnecessary to follow the details of the next two days—the 25th and 26th. Suffice it to say, that Joseph and Hyrum Smith were placed in the Carthage jail, presumably because that would better insure their safety. Apostles John Taylor and Willard Richards, Cyrus H. Wheelock and Stephen Markham were permitted to accompany the prisoners, the Apostles remaining with them to the end.

After disbanding all the militia except the McDonough troops and the Carthage Greys, Governor Ford, on the morning of June 27th, took Captain Dunn's company and went to Nauvoo. The Carthage Greys were left to guard the prisoners.

The Governor's action in leaving the "Greys" to guard the Prophet and his brother, has not, even by himself, been sufficiently explained. Subsequently, in his "History of Illinois," he attempted to screen himself from responsibility for the tragedy that followed quickly on the heels of his departure for Nauvoo. But his effort to do so was a failure. No sane, unbiased mind will accuse Governor Ford with having conspired with any one, least of all the Carthage Greys, to compass the death of Joseph Smith. But reasonable men, irrespective of creed, demand good and sufficient reasons for the public acts of public men. Governor Ford went to Nauvoo on the flimsy pretext of searching for counterfeiting tools, dies or plates alleged to be in that locality. But Governor Ford was not a sheriff, detective or a member of the secret service. From the evidence given by himself the inference is entirely justified, and is the only charitable view, that Governor Ford realized that he was not mentally and morally strong enough to cope with the lawless element which he had reason to believe had determined to have the life of the Prophet. And like all weak men when face to face with crises in which the worst passions of men are the ruling force, Governor Ford was anxious to escape from the scene of violence that he should have known was imminent, and at the same time avoid the responsibility of being present during the perpetration of the crime.

Governor Ford and his escort had not more than turned their faces toward Nauvoo when members of the Carthage Greys began preparations for the terrible drama.

Carthage jail was a two-story structure of stone, having cells below and unprotected rooms above in addition to one cell. The prisoners were at first placed in the cells, then transferred to a large room at the head of the stairs in the upper story.

A guard of the "Greys" had been stationed at the jail, but that was a necessary formality. During the forenoon Stephen Markham left the jail, expecting to return in a short time, but was not permitted to do so. That incident aroused the apprehensions of the prisoners and their companions. Soon after the noon-day meal Cyrus H. Wheelock went out for the purpose of obtaining some wine. He, also, was not permitted to return, which increased the misgivings of those who remained in the jail.

While sitting at the window Apostle Taylor had been singing "A poor wayfaring man of grief," etc. It was probably about 2 p. m. when Taylor looked out of the window and saw a large number of men with blackened faces rapidly approaching the prison. It was but the passing of a moment when a volley of musket balls sped up the stairway. The mob had "forced" the guard, and with demoniacal yells rushed up the stairs.

The door, a thin wooden affair, was open at the instant of the onrush, but was quickly closed by the inmates. Joseph, Taylor and Richards braced themselves against the door with the hope of holding back the painted, infuriated mob. A shot through the key-hole warned the prisoners of the danger of their position. Joseph and Richards sprang toward the front of the room while Taylor took a position to the side of the door. A second shot struck Hyrum Smith near the side of his nose, while another ball, fired from the outside, through the window, entered his back. Throwing up his hands the brother of the Prophet cried out, "I'm a dead man," fell to the floor, and expired without a struggle. Forgetting, for the instant, his own danger, Joseph exclaimed, "My poor, dear brother."

Before going out Cyrus H. Wheelock left with Joseph an Allen's automatic six-shooter, called in those days a "pepper-box." Springing to the door the Prophet opened it a few inches, and thrusting the pistol out among his assailants fired three shots, each of which winged a mobocrat, of whom, so it was reported, two died. Three of the charges failed to explode. Angered by the unexpected resistance the mob forced the door and poured sheets of flame and bullets into the room. Taylor had maintained his position by the side of the door, and with a heavy hickory stick left by Stephen Markham he beat down for a moment, the death-dealing muskets which protruded through the opening. Apostle Taylor was a powerful and athletic man, and by his admirable courage no doubt deferred for a brief space the ending of the tragedy. While engaged in his unequal combat with the mob, Taylor heard the Prophet's encouraging words,—"That's right, Brother Taylor, parry them off as well as you can."

As fast as the muskets were fired, the owners fell back and those with loaded guns took their places. Scores of shots were fired into the room which soon was filled with smoke. Through the semi-gloom flashes of crimson fire leaped toward the object of malignant hatred, while bullets swept the room. Intermingled with the explosions of firearms the doomed Prophet heard the maniacal shouts and curses of those who were urging on the work of death. Apostle Taylor ran to the window with the intention of leaping out and thus escape from the hell which was increasing in the room. The remainder of the pitiful story can best be given in his words:

"As I reached the window, and was on the point of jumping out, I was struck by a ball from the door about midway of my thigh, which struck the bone and flattened out, almost to the size of a quarter of a dollar, and then passed on through the fleshy part to within about half an inch of the outside. I think some prominent nerve must have been severed or injured, for, as soon as the ball struck me, I fell like a bird, or an ox when struck by a butcher, and lost entirely and instantaneously all power of action or locomotion. I fell upon the window-sill, and cried out, 'I am shot!' Not possessing any power to move, I felt myself falling outside of the window, but immediately I fell inside, from some, at that time, unknown cause. When I struck the floor my animation seemed restored, as I have seen it sometimes in squirrels and birds after being shot. As soon as I felt the power of motion I crawled under the bed, which was in a corner of the room, not far from the window where I received my wound. While on my way under the bed I was wounded in three other places; one ball entered a little below the left knee, and never was extracted; another entered the forepart of my left arm, a little above the wrist, and, passing down by the joint, lodged in the fleshy part of my hand, about midway, a little above the joint of my little finger; another struck me in the fleshy part of my left hip, and tore away the flesh as large as my hand, dashing the mangled fragments of flesh and blood against the wall.

"It would seem that immediately after my attempt to leap out of the window, Joseph did the same thing, of which circumstance I have no knowledge except from information. The first thing that I noticed was a cry that he had leaped out of the window. A cessation of firing followed, the mob rushed down the stairs, and Dr. Richards went to the window. Immediately afterwards I saw the doctor going towards the jail door, and as there was an iron door at the head of the stairs adjoining our door which led into the cells for criminals, it struck me that the doctor was going in there, and I said to him, 'Stop, Doctor, and take me along.' He proceeded to the door and opened it, and then returned and dragged me along to a small cell prepared for criminals."

Willard Richards escaped without a scratch; and when one reflects on the hail of lead which was poured into the room his escape borders on the miraculous.

The fate of the Prophet is told by Dr. Richards in the following words:

"Joseph attempted, as a last resort, to leap out of the same window from which Mr. Taylor fell inside, when two balls pierced him from the door, and one entered his right breast from without, and he fell outward exclaiming, 'O Lord, my God.' He fell on his left side a dead man. At this instant the cry was raised, 'He's leaped the window!' and the mob on the stairs and in the entry ran out."

And thus ended one of the most pitiful and unnecessary tragedies of the Nineteenth Century.

John Taylor recovered, and became one of the best and most considerate presidents the Church of Latter-day Saints has thus far had, or is likely to have.

JOSEPH F. SMITH

A small boy is playing in his mother's yard. The place is Nauvoo, Illinois. The stage is set for one of the most pathetic dramas ever witnessed in the world's history of human tragedies. From the direction of Carthage a small cloud of dust moves along the well-worn road. Nearer and nearer the column of dust approaches and from its shadow emerges a foam-flecked and dust-covered horse and rider. "Joseph and Hyrum have been murdered in Carthage jail!" is the message he brings to the homes, kindred and devoted followers of those who perished at the hands of an unreasoning mob.

Hushed is the voice of the small boy, petrified by the fearful blow. With mute anguish he views the agony of his mother, and listens to the mourning and imprecations of the community. A day or two later a funeral procession arrives in Nauvoo. The covers of the pine coffins are removed, and Joseph F. Smith looks down on the pallid faces of his father (Hyrum) and his uncle. Who shall say that the bitterness and resentment felt by that boy were not justified? And who is there that can measure the baneful effect of that inexcusable tragedy on the mind and character of a youth of such tender years? Add to his personal experiences the daily recitals of the horrors of Missouri, and the further fact that he believed his father and uncle were prophets, seers and revelators, and that other impression, justified by the daily talk of members of his family and of his neighbors, who unitedly claimed that the entire Christian world rejoiced over the tragedy at Carthage, and we have an environment exceptionally favorable to the production of a fanatic, but not, necessarily, of a prophet.

Another factor that should be taken into account in its bearing on the plastic mind of the boy, is that he was taught to believe that his uncle had been chosen by the Almighty as His earthly representative, and that upon Joseph Smith and his successors in office had been placed the grave responsibility of establishing and maintaining the kingdom of God on earth.

View as we may the truth or falsity of Joseph F. Smith's early conceptions, we find in him the victim of nature's inexorable psychological forces. His early experience with the lax enforcement of the civil law, as exemplified in the death of his father and uncle, not only engendered in him an unreasoning hatred for a democratic form of government, but inspired him with intense devotion to centralized power, the highest type of which is, necessarily, the kingdom of God on earth.

Such was the environment in which Joseph F. Smith, the then child of six years, received his first impressions of life and who, in the unwinding years, was destined by an unkindly fate to succeed his uncle, the Prophet, in the exalted position of God's vicegerent on earth. Is there surprise that today in Utah the same questions that vexed the people of Missouri and Illinois are being fought out, but by representatives of a higher civilization than were those who, by brute force, expelled the Saints from those States?

THE PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH—HIS CHARACTER

Few men have ever lived whose life, character and motives were more subjected to the diverse kaleidoscopic views and estimates of so many writers as Joseph Smith.

He has been delineated as a horse thief, counterfeiter and all-around tough. He has been posed before the public as a murderer and villain of the blackest type. He has been called a maudlin religious fanatic. Others have charged him with being a wilful deceiver of his people because of his lust of women, power and notoriety. Nearly all his critics have withheld from him the credit of possessing more than ordinary intelligence.

Then, as now, his followers believed him to be a prophet, They believed his revelations, and still believe them. Their loyalty was proved by years of resigned endurance of persecution, and travail in the wilderness. Today, a half million people stand as firm in their belief that Joseph Smith was the Prophet of God, fore-ordained to restore the pure gospel of the Son of God, as are the immovable mountain walls that guard their western empire, now ruled by the most implacable despot of all time. None but those who have spent their lives among the Saints and have shared their religion, can understand their intense loyalty to their convictions, and to the slightest wish, religious and political, of their chief prophet. And nearly all of those whose lives have been spent among them, on severing their connection with the church, become so bitter, because of blighted hopes and ruined lives, that they are incapable of forming just estimates of the character of the founder of Mormonism, whom, for years, they unquestioningly followed.

The man who performed that nineteenth-century miracle was no ordinary man.

Of the Prophet's physical appearance, Josiah Quincy, who visited Nauvoo in May, 1844, gave the following life-like pen-picture:

"Pre-eminent among the stragglers at the door (of the Nauvoo House) stood a man of commanding appearance, clad in the costume of a journeyman carpenter when about his work. He was a hearty, athletic fellow, with blue eyes standing prominently out on his light complexion, a long nose, and a retreating forehead. He wore striped pantaloons, a linen jacket which had not lately seen the wash-tub, and a beard of three days' growth. A fine-looking man, is what the passerby would instinctively have murmured upon meeting the remarkable individual who has fashioned the mould which was to shape the feelings of so many thousands of his fellow-mortals."

The physical and mental environment of Joseph Smith has been described. If any further evidence of his belief in his own divine mission be needed, the offering of his life for the protection of his people should be ample.

As a psychological subject he has baffled the ablest minds. The activity of his mind was phenomenal, and must have been the product of abnormal nervous energy. And in order to have deceived himself in the matter of revelations, his nervous force, at times, must have been such as to produce temporary hallucinations. The vividness and realism of the products of his imagination were such as to convince him that they were supernatural. Those delusions were intensified by his natural and acquired egotism which was one of his most glaring defects of character. The grandiloquent verbiage of many of his speeches, writings and revelations, was such as would have caused "Bombastus Furioso" to turn green with envy.

The presence of the Legion, and the gaudy trappings of the Prophet in his gold-bedecked uniform of lieutenant-general at the solemn ceremony of laying the corner stone of the Nauvoo temple, is an illustration of his immeasurable vanity and passion for display of personal power and importance. In fact, it is the egotist that indulges in "bluffing."

That the Prophet was a total financial failure is proved by the disgraceful collapse of his Kirtland bank, and that he and his church were perpetually harassed by creditors.

That Joseph, with all his claimed gift of inspiration, was an unusually poor judge of human nature is proved by his selection of such men as Marsh, Bennett, Law and many other bad characters to be his counselors and trusted confidants.

The Prophet was generally conceded to be unusually affable and hospitable.

He shared with his people the joys and sorrows of Mormonism, and was never known to falter in his loyalty to his followers.

In addition to his work of translating, writing revelations, correspondence, writing his autobiography, and arduous church duties, the Prophet studied Hebrew, German, law and other subjects almost too numerous to mention, and, of course, was mediocre in all of them.

His alleged monopoly of God's agency on earth justified his claimed right to rule politically.

Our reason justifies us in believing that God is the personification of perfect judgment, honor, candor, truth, justice and mercy. His absolute power eliminates the faintest suggestion that He would be compelled to descend to deception in anything to accomplish His purposes, and that view of the attributes of Deity is supported by the Bible, our only recognized written authority on the subject.

With the foregoing as a guide to what we are entitled to look for in one who claims to be the sole agent and representative on earth of the very Eternal, we search in vain for any special mental, or moral quality in Joseph Smith that would distinguish him from the "common herd."

Eliminating all thought of inspiration, no sane man would have made the bombastic threats of vengeance on his enemies, and the frequent defiance of the laws of cause and effect, which characterized the almost daily routine of the life of the Mormon Prophet.

His contemptible attempts at deception on the existence of polygamy in Nauvoo cannot be even palliated on the idiotic plea, so industriously entered by his present-day apologists, that the publicity of its practice was premature. There can be nothing god-like about lying—it is the stock-in-trade of every criminal when faced by his accusers, and the refuge of the child when charged with having surreptitiously invaded his mother's pantry.

The complete collapse of his revelations concerning the "Land of Zion" in Missouri, appeared to daze him, and to somewhat weaken his faith in the genuineness of his prophetic gifts, for, thereafter, he confined himself almost exclusively to doctrinal revelations. And with the exception of the revelation on polygamy, little or no criticism can be made.

Elder Brigham H. Roberts, one of the most able and logical minds in the Mormon church, and so often quoted herein, sensed the illimitable hiatus between the definite predictions concerning the Missouri Land of Zion and their fulfillment, and in the following sentences becomes an illogical apologist for the Almighty:

"While God's general purposes will never ultimately be defeated by man, still upon each side of the general purposes of God, a margin somewhat wide seems to have been left in which those both for and against those purposes may write what history they please—one that will meet with the approval of God, or one that will meet only with condemnation—herein is the agency of man. But in the exercise of that agency God's purposes will not be thwarted, for man's agency will not extend so far as that—if it did it would interfere with God's agency and decrees."—"Missouri Persecutions," page 150.

The above is doubtless a better explanation of the failure of "God's general purposes" in Missouri, than the present-day chief prophet could give. And yet, it is an explanation that does not explain.

That the reader may fully realize the entirely untenable position of Elder Roberts, it is well to retrace our steps to the date of the disbandment of "Zion's Camp."

The appearance of "Zion's army" naturally incensed the non-Mormons of Jackson county, and, inconsistent as it may appear, the Lord's army was disbanded in the face of His "enemies." And, according to Elder Roberts, Joseph sent the following dispatch, "by express, to Messrs. Thornton, Doniphan, and Atchison":

"Gentlemen:—Our company of men advanced yesterday from their encampment beyond Fishing River to Rush Creek, where their tents are again pitched. But feeling disposed to adopt every specific (pacific?) measure that can be done without jeopardizing our lives, to quiet the prejudices and fears of some part of the citizens of this county, we have concluded that our company shall be immediately dispersed and continue so till every effort for an adjustment of differences between us and the people of Jackson has been made on our part, that would in anywise be required of us by disinterested men of republican principles.

"I am respectfully,
"Your obedient servant,
"JOSEPH SMITH, JR."
("Missouri Persecutions," page 149.)

Proceeding, Elder Roberts, in his "Missouri Persecutions," pp. 149-150, has the following:

"Thus was Zion's Camp disbanded. Had Governor Dunklin possessed the courage to enforce the law of the State; had he called out the militia of Missouri to re-instate the exiles in their homes, as at one time he expressed a willingness to do, the history of the camp might have been different. But Governor Dunklin lacked that courage, and without that assistance the camp itself was powerless."

Every line, paragraph and page of Elder Roberts' voluminous writings in elucidation of Mormon doctrine, and in defense of the Saints, breathes a spirit of earnest faith in the doctrines of Mormonism, and of profoundest certainty in the literal fulfillment of Joseph Smith's revelations. In the face of that devotion to his faith, Elder Roberts' intelligence seems to almost stagger in his effort to reconcile the promises of the Lord regarding the Missouri Land of Zion, and the impassable gulf that yawns between those promises and their fulfillment. In his pitiful groping for the bridge that Elder Roberts is seeking as a means of getting the Almighty out of His unenviable dilemma, he grasps at the following potential straws:

"Perhaps another view is admissible. Had the members of Zion's Camp been more faithful—less contentious—more united, and had the Saints in the eastern branches had more faith—faith to send up to Zion more men and more money with which to strengthen the hands of the Saints on the land of Zion—the history of Zion's Camp might have been different. But thus it is: what men and great movements might attain to is often defeated, sometimes by the actions of enemies, sometimes by the lack of devotion and faith and energy on the part of those into whose hands great enterprises are committed."—"Missouri Persecutions," page 150.

Had Elder Roberts been silent in his "Missouri Persecutions," as to the disparity between the revelations and prophecies of Joseph Smith and their fulfillment, it would have been better for the "Youth of Zion" to whom, indirectly, he dedicates his fascinating work. And there could have been no excuse for dragging his name into a public discussion of the vital question of judging Joseph Smith's claim to being a prophet in the light of the fulfillment of his prophecies. But, as Elder Roberts, in the foregoing excerpta, has assumed the rôle of special pleader for the Prophet, and guardian of the faith of the "Youth of Zion," there is no thought of apology for compelling his presence in a brief discussion of the subject in which he has taken the affirmative side.

The reader's attention is drawn to the ludicrous discrepancy between the fervid asseverations of the Prophet that "Zion shall not be moved out of her place," etc., and the pompous march of "Zion's Camp" to Missouri; and the surrender of

Joseph, as evidenced in his letter to Thornton, Doniphan and Atchison.

There can be no denial of the following Mormon predicates:

First: Joseph Smith, Jr., was a prophet.

Second: The Mormons are God's chosen people.

Third: The Almighty had made certain definite, unambiguous declarations concerning Missouri being the "Land of Zion" and the "inheritance of His people."

Fourth: The Lord had predicted that on the site of Independence the "City of the New Jerusalem" should be builded.

Fifth: That a temple should be built in Independence upon which there should rest "a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night," and that the "cloud" and "pillar" would be the "glory of God."

Sixth: That the generation in which the revelation concerning the temple was given should not pass away before that "house of the Lord" would be built.

Seventh: That, to accomplish his "*sworn*" purposes, the Almighty would not suffer "Zion to be moved out of her place," for there was "no other place appointed" for the "inheritances" of His people.

As before stated, Elder Roberts is the ablest present-day champion of Mormonism, with all that the name implies, and is so recognized by nearly every member of his church. And, therefore, his reasons (?), excuses or apologies for the total collapse of the Prophet's revelations and prophecies concerning Missouri are the very best that could be produced.

In his prefatory reasons, excuses or apologies, Elder Roberts says: "*There seems to have been left* upon each side of the *general purposes* of God a margin *somewhat wide.*" What for? So that "those *both for and against* those purposes may write *what history they please,* one that will meet with the approval of God, or one that will meet only with condemnation."

The reader is invited to use the common sense that God gave to him, or to her, and which, to him, or to her, is the court of last resort in arriving at ultimate conclusions, and discover any "margin" or element of uncertainty in the Lord's promises concerning Missouri. On the contrary, the Lord had "*sworn*" that the predictions of His Prophet should be fulfilled.

And where, if such "margins" had been "left," no matter how "wide" or narrow, can the reader, even the "Youth of Zion," discern any relation between those "margins" and Elder Roberts' "child-like and bland" plea that those "margins" were purposely "left" so that men might "meet only with condemnation" for "writing what history they please"?—history that is justified by the *only* interpretation that can be drawn from those positive revelations and prophecies.

Or, in other words, has Mormonism so clogged the otherwise logical brain of Elder Roberts to the extent that he really believes that God leaves "margins" of uncertainty in His promises to the end that men and women may be damned for inability to interpret that which was purposely left in an indefinite and ambiguous form?

In Elder Roberts' "Perhaps-another-view-is-admissible" paragraph he becomes even more child-like and inconsistent. In his presentation of the "another-view" Elder Roberts abandons his "somewhat-wide-margins" view. Elder Roberts "seems" to have forgotten that in the "Zion's Camp" affair, Joseph was acting under the instructions of the Lord, and that in no instance did the Prophet go outside of those instructions. The Lord told His servant Joseph to gather five hundred men if possible; if not possible, he was instructed to the effect that three hundred men would answer, but *not* to undertake the "redemption of Zion" with less than one hundred men. The difference between five hundred and one hundred was certainly a "margin somewhat wide," but Joseph was well within the limit when he started with one hundred and fifty men and increased his force to two hundred men before he came in sight of the Lord's enemies. The Lord was supervising the work, and He, alone, should be held responsible for the details and for the general results.

But Elder Roberts, in his plaintive effort to strengthen the faith of the "Youth of Zion," indulges in more potentialities. "Had the members of Zion's Camp been more faithful" the expedition might have been successful. Or, to again quote Elder

Roberts: "Had the Saints in the eastern branches had faith to send up to Zion more men and more money . . . . the history of Zion's Camp *might* have been different."

In the frequent use of the words "had," "might," etc., Elder Roberts eliminates the thought of God's omnipotence and foreknowledge. Did not God foresee that Joseph could not raise more than one hundred and fifty men? Did not God foreknow that the Saints would not—could not—send more money? And did not God foreknow the complete collapse of all the revelations relating to the Missouri land of Zion? If God did foreknow those things, then why did He undertake a contract He was unable to complete? If God did not foreknow these things, there is but one alternative; the god who gave those revelations to Joseph Smith, Jr., is not the all-wise, supreme and omnipotent God that rules the universe.

The last sentence of Elder Roberts' "Perhaps-another-view-is-admissible" paragraph is a secular truism, and, as such, eliminates all thought of Deity and, therefore, forms a fitting concession on the part of Elder Roberts that his effort to strengthen the faith of the "Youth of Zion" in the revelations of Joseph Smith was as great an abortion as the pitiful collapse of Zion's Camp. Not for his life would the author of this volume do Joseph Smith or the Latter-day Saints an intentional act of injustice. The facts as given by Mormon historians have been used in the foregoing chapters. And in the light of those facts it is not harsh to add that from his boyhood Joseph Smith's idiosyncrasies made of him a storm-center, and, while pitiable in the extreme, his death was of signal advantage to his people.

Among his other accomplishments, Joseph Smith was the most prolific vendor of "inspired" "scientific" theories that has ever lived. There were no heights in astronomy so vast that, in the belief of his followers, he did not reach; there were no depths in geology so profound that he did not fathom.

For instance, by the aid of his "inspired" telescope, Joseph Smith discovered a new globe which he named "Kolob." He also discovered that Kolob was so vast that it requires one thousand years for it to make one revolution on its axis. And it was revealed to the Prophet that the Almighty reckons the time of the universe from one revolution of Kolob; that is, that a day with the Lord is as one thousand years; that, therefore, the creative "day" in Genesis was one thousand years, and that the world was, therefore, created in six thousand years instead of six days of twenty-four hours each. And each devout "scientific" Saint accepts that dictum in preference to the hundreds of millions of years which uninspired scientists affirm were required for the evolution of the earth from nebulous matter to the present time.

Instead of the earth having been evolved from a nebulous ring revolving around the Sun, or center, Joseph Smith affirmed that the earth was formed from the disrupted fragments of other worlds. Some fifteen years since, Professor James B. Keeler, a Mormon bishop who was teaching in the Brigham Young Academy at Provo, published a tract on geology, which had for its basis the Prophet's theory of creation, and attempted to force the geological phenomena into "harmony" with that theory. Today there is a brilliant scientific Saint whose researches in geology might have been of great service to that science had he not been floundering in the hopeless maze of inconsistencies which ever obstruct the path of any man who attempts to harmonize the truths of science with the visionary vaporings of our modern Prophet. Thus does Mormonism become an incubus in the field of education, as it is in every avenue of mental progress. Every aspiration of the heart, every deliverance of reason must bend in abject servility to the "inspired" dicta of the prophets.

BRIGHAM YOUNG

CHAPTER XVI

BRIGHAM YOUNG SUCCEEDS JOSEPH SMITH—SAINTS AGAIN EXPELLED—NAUVOO TO THE MISSOURI RIVER

Brigham Young was born on June 1st, 1801, in Whitingham, Windham county, Vermont. His father was poor and unable to give his large family of children even a common school education.

At sixteen Brigham left home and proceeded to carve fortune and fame from the rude material of his surroundings. He followed painting and odd jobs for a while, then learned the carpenter's trade, at which he became proficient.

In stature, Brigham Young was about five feet, eight inches, of heavy build and in later years inclined to be portly. A massive head, well set on a rather short and muscular neck, completed his physical appearance. His statue, that at once adorns and dignifies the intersection of South Temple and East Temple (Main) streets, Salt Lake City, is a life-like representation of him when about sixty years of age. Auburn hair, steady blue eyes, and an auburn beard extending from his temples down under and partly concealing his chin, a large firm mouth, and slightly aquiline nose, complete the portrait of the great pioneer as the writer now remembers him. The mental characteristics of Brigham Young may be inferred from the remarkable achievements of himself and his people. And in the light of his material accomplishments, it is hardly necessary to add that Brigham Young was a man of sublime courage, unyielding will and sleepless persistence; yet, withal, kindly and considerate. In all the attributes of truth, honor and purity of life, as he understood the word purity, Brigham Young had no superiors. In the selection of his "counselors" and aids, the judgment of Brigham Young was almost unerring, and although they comprised such masterful minds as Orson and Parley P. Pratt, Willard Richards, Orson Hyde, John Taylor, George A. Smith (cousin of the Prophet) Amasa Lyman and others, they were mere figureheads.

As if by the irony of fate, Brigham Young, Orson Pratt and other leading elders were absent on electioneering missions in behalf of Joseph's candidacy for president when the Prophet was murdered.

At the close of an intensely dramatic struggle for the leadership of the Saints, Brigham Young won the position of leader of modern Israel.

At the time of the Prophet's death, Brigham Young was president of the Twelve Apostles, and as such was in line for priestly succession to the office of head of the church. His aspirations were, however, challenged by Sidney Rigdon and other prominent Mormons, but without avail. Emma Smith, legal wife of the Prophet, opposed the leadership of Brigham, and pleaded in vain for the election of a trustee-in-trust for the church until her oldest son, Joseph, then twelve years old, would be of such age as to qualify him for the succession to his father. But Brigham was obdurate, and wisely admonished Emma that it would be equivalent to "putting a knife to the boy's throat" to announce his prospective successorship to his father, the Prophet. Subsequently, "Young" Joseph reorganized the church, and with headquarters at Lamoni, Iowa, is contesting for prophetic supremacy with his cousin, Joseph F. Smith, the present-day "prophet, seer and revelator" of the Utah church. The Lamoni church does not believe in polygamy, and in the face of overwhelming evidence, denies that the Prophet taught or practised polygamy. The denial is doubtless made to shield the original Joseph Smith's reputation as a prophet.

Rigdon established a rival church in Pittsburgh, and achieved a total failure.

James J. Strang seduced a few hundreds of the Saints and established them on Beaver Island, Lake Superior. Joseph's polygamy and his claim to spiritual and temporal absolutism were the chief doctrines practised by Strang. The "Strangites" were accused of licentiousness, stealing, etc., by the fishermen and lumbermen of Beaver Island, with the result that those "Saints" were also "persecuted for their religion's sake." In

1856, two of Strang's followers shot him. The people of the mainland sent a boat to the Island kingdom of Strang and compelled his followers to embark with such personal effects as they could hastily collect, and landed them in Milwaukee and other towns.

Strang pretended to have seen angels who showed him the "gold plates," and had given him the Urim and Thummim. He also claimed to have received revelations and in nearly every respect endeavored to imitate the murdered Prophet. There was no one that could prove that Strang was not a prophet, nor that all his assertions were not true; his followers were "persecuted"—driven from their homes, etc., but not a tear has been shed by the original Saints because of the misfortunes of the Strangites. Yet they were just as sincere in *their* faith, and just as devoted to *their* prophet as were the followers of Joseph Smith. Later on, another incident that is more nearly parallel will be mentioned.

The selfish hope of many of the Saints that the surrender of their Prophet would save them from the wrath of their enemies was completely shattered.

During a brief interval, only, after the death of Joseph, the enemies of the Saints gave them a respite. Again, flame and smoke from burning grain stacks and residences gave notice that the fierce hatred of the non-Mormon residents of Hancock county was being vented on the helpless Saints. Nor were the latter entirely blameless in the matter of retaliation.

Nor were the Saints guiltless in the matter of stealing from their enemies. Brigham did all in his power to check the spirit of retaliation on the part of his followers. About two months after the death of Joseph, Brigham, while addressing the Saints during a conference, spoke pointedly and significantly on the subject of stealing. He said:

"Elders who go to borrow horses or money, and running away with it, will be cut off from the church without any ceremony. They will not receive as much *lenity* as heretofore."—"Times and Seasons," Vol. V., page 696. Which was proof conclusive that some of the Saints had been stealing.

In January, 1845, the Illinois legislature repealed the Nauvoo charter. The Saints were deeply angered at what they regarded as an unpardonable invasion of their political rights, which deprived them of a convenient resort to *habeas corpus* proceedings before the Nauvoo city magistrate. Instead of quietly submitting to the inevitable, and adopting a pacific policy, the Mormon press breathed implacable defiance. The "Nauvoo Neighbor," a Mormon publication, advised that "no Latter-day Saint should give himself up to the law . . . until the blood of Joseph and Hyrum has been atoned for by hanging, shooting, or slaying in some manner every person engaged in that cowardly, mean assassination."

The defiance of the Saints but served to intensify the mutual hate. The "Danite" stories were revived, and many mysterious murders were charged to that organization. In fact, the "war of extermination" proclaimed by Sidney Rigdon, and reiterated in the too often intemperate remarks of Joseph, again confronted the Saints.

During this critical period, Governor Ford seems to have lost his head. At any rate, like Governor Dunklin, he proved himself incapable of coping with the situation.

In the meantime, Thomas B. Marsh, William Smith, brother of the Prophet, and many other leading brethren in the church, had apostatized, and became bitter enemies of the Saints.

Brigham Young, natural-born leader and statesman, was powerless to stem the devastating tide that was flowing in on the disunited and distracted Saints. The causes of the uprising were too deep for human aid, and the Lord had again deserted His chosen people.

Knowing that it would be impossible for the Saints to permanently occupy their holdings in Illinois, Brigham Young promised the citizens of that State that his people would remove in the spring of 1846, and the Saints did all in their power to expedite matters.

Although the Saints knew that their expulsion from Illinois was certain, they toiled incessantly on the temple. The Lord had commanded them to build it, and had promised them great blessings as a reward for their fidelity. With "johnnycake" (corn bread) as their only food, and often very little of that, and weakened by attacks of chills and fever, the devoted Saints finally completed their beautiful temple in which many of them received their "endowments," and were baptized for their dead. History will be searched in vain for a parallel to the devotion exhibited, and the sacrifices made, by the followers of Joseph Smith, while, with firearms by their sides ready to repel unreasoning and relentless mobs, they placed stone upon stone until the gilded angel that crowned the lofty spire, reached upward toward Him whom they steadfastly believed had commanded the building of the Nauvoo temple.

While a few of the lingering Saints remained in Nauvoo, some brainless vandals desecrated the temple in a manner so revolting as to be unprintable. One night the sky for miles around was reddened by the flames that consumed the edifice that had so recently been dedicated to the mysterious rites for the living and for the dead; and which represented the unrecorded sacrifices and years of toil on the part of a people whose devotion to duty, as they understood it, has never been surpassed.

The identity of the party, or parties, who fired the temple was never known. Some of the Saints charged the mobocrats with the crime. Others charged it to the Saints. My father, who was among the very last of the Saints to leave Nauvoo, in later years often affirmed his belief that one or more Mormons fired the temple to save it from further desecration.

The story of the bombardment of Nauvoo by cannon obtained from Quincy, and used under the, at least, quasi authority of the State of Illinois, has been told by such eloquent authors as B. H. Roberts of the Mormon church, and by non-Mormon writers, whose only sympathy for the Saints was inspired by their pathetic devotion to their faith, and the resultant incidents of their expulsion from the city they had won from the unhealthful bottom-land on the bank of the Mississippi. For that reason it were fruitless for the writer of this reconnaissance to attempt to describe the abandonment of hard-earned homes, and the congested ferries which transferred the homeless Saints from Illinois to the Iowa bank of the river.

On February 10th, 1846, Brigham Young, a portion of the

Apostles and high council, crossed from Nauvoo over to Iowa and camped on Sugar Creek. The camp was rapidly augmented by new arrivals, and on March 1st, the "Camp of Israel" began its arduous march across the treeless prairies of Iowa to the Missouri River.

The shelter of the Saints consisted of covered wagons and tents. Their only source of warmth and means of cooking were camp-fires. And between the wooded streams the only fuel was the sun-dried excretia of animals, which was facetiously named "buffalo-chips" by the voyagers of the plains. These conditions were not necessarily severe on hardy, resourceful men inured to frontier life, even in the presence of deep snow, and the mercury at 20 degrees below zero. But that tender women and children should be compelled, by the inhumanity of men, to endure the privations and suffering that characterized the journey of the Saints from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs on the Missouri River, is too cruel, too barbarous and savage for words to express —the English language has its limitations.

Owing to the Saints in Nauvoo having been compelled to "stand guard" and to be ever on the alert against the incursions of mobs, and having to perform the work necessary to the completion of their temple, and having realized but little on the forced sale of their homes and household goods, the larger majority of them were miserably poor, and their wretched outfits for the long march can be easily imagined.

The soil of Iowa ranges from black, porous loam to gumbo, and when saturated with water, would, in western parlance, "mire a saddle blanket." It was over those rain-soaked prairies that the first company of Saints toiled on in search of a new Zion and a refuge of peace and safety.

Fully fifteen thousand Saints left Nauvoo in 1846 for Council Bluffs. But many of them remained at Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah, where land was fenced and cultivated, and which became convenient stopping places for the Saints en route to Council Bluffs. A few of the Saints, tired of wandering, made permanent homes in the neighborhood of the places just named. Others, among whom was my father, moved into northern Illinois, and later moved west to the Utah Zion. So intense was the dislike for the Saints, even in the extreme northern part of Illinois, that my earliest recollection is of being called "little nigger Mormon" by the "Gentile" kids. To enter further into the details of the Mormon exodus from Nauvoo would be to unnecessarily trench on history that has been repeatedly and eloquently told by Mormon and non-Mormon writers.

With the foregoing brief sketch, we leave the Saints in "Winter Quarters," since known as Florence and which, today is a favorite residence suburb to the north of Omaha. A portion of the Saints camped at Council Bluffs, since grown into a beautiful little city on the highlands near the east bank of the Missouri River.

CHAPTER XVII

TRUTH ABOUT THE "MORMON BATTALION"—MISSOURI RIVER TO SANTA FE

That pity or sympathy "is akin to love" is as true as the truism is ancient. It is, at once, a special virtue and weakness of the better class of humanity. The knowledge of that weakness is the chief stock-in-trade of the beggar, and the first proselyting argument of the missionary in his efforts to win converts to Christianity by rehearsing the sweetly pathetic incidents in the wonderfully fascinating story of the life and death of the Son of Man. It is a subtile force that is ever lifting the human family to higher levels of civilization and progress. It is the one almost-unappreciated force that is working for the universal brotherhood of man. No matter how much the attribute of pity may be abused, or prostituted to unworthy ends, it should be cultivated along with that rarer quality we call common sense. It was, and is the chief attribute of the Savior, and that so sharply defined His character and life from the vengeful, intolerant, "an-eye-for-an-eye," and "a-tooth-for-a-tooth" creed that characterized the ancient Israelitish rule of life. Sympathy is the one noble attribute that lifts us far above the other animals, and that makes us more nearly god-like in our natures.

In "the blood of the martyrs" is found the "seed of the church." Had Joseph Smith "the martyr" not been "persecuted," had not been sacrificed to the cruel, insensate hate of law-defying savages, his following today would have been inconsequential. Time would have proved the complete fallacy of his revelations and prophecies. His revelation on celestial, or plural marriage, so entirely unnecessary in the providences of God, whose command of the infinite ages in which to work out His purposes, proves the untruth of the Prophet's revelation, and the very cruelty involved in the practice of polygamy, would, in the presence of advancing civilization, have damned the

Prophet and relegated his doctrine of "spiritual wives" to the age of barbarism where it so justly belongs.

Realizing the remarkable power of well-directed efforts to arouse sympathy in those who permit their pity to rule their reason, the Mormon missionaries have over-worked that much-abused emotion with telling effect.

From the pulpits of their meeting-houses throughout the world; in the homes of the lowly, where the flame of sympathy sheds its softest and purest light, and in the streets, lanes and by-ways of the world, thousands of Mormon missionaries are continually rehearsing the pitiful story of the life and death of Joseph Smith, and likening his career to that of the Son of God!

The second bid for sympathy is a rehearsal of the persecutions of the Saints in Missouri.

The third bid is a recital of the banishment of the Saints from Illinois, and their painful journey to the Missouri River.

The fourth bid for sympathy is the remarkable journey of the Saints to the great inter-mountain basin, and their grand achievement in winning an empire from the forbidding aspect of nature as it is yet in evidence in many portions of the inter-mountain basin.

The fifth bid for sympathetic tears, and new converts, is a recital of how the United States Government, as a test of loyalty, "demanded" five hundred men for service in the war with Mexico, and at a time when the Saints were in the Iowa wilderness, en route, as the Saints believed, to Oregon. Those same missionaries also tell how Brigham Young is alleged to have sent word to the Secretary of War: "You shall have your soldiers if it takes a company of our elders," or words to that effect. They will also tell how the whole nation gloated over the demand on the Mormons for troops because it would so cripple the Saints that they would become a prey to the savage tribes of the great American desert. They also relate how the "Mormon Battalion," in obedience to their country's call, with blistered feet tramped the parched deserts and burning sands of Arizona.

And they will tell their sympathetic auditors that Joseph Smith died a martyr, and that the Saints were persecuted because they are the only people of God on earth, and for that reason the world has rejected the testimonies of the missionaries, spurned the only true gospel of the Son of Man and murdered His Saints.

But those same missionaries will not point out (because they have never studied) the inconsistencies associated with the alleged prophetic career of Joseph Smith; they will not tell of the complete collapse of the Prophet's predictions relative to Missouri, Zion's Camp, etc., nor of the arrogant political boasts of the Prophet and his people; nor how the "leading men of Israel," the "Lord's anointed," lied; yes, that is the proper word, about the practice of polygamy in Nauvoo, and because they never heard a Mormon even refer to that side of the question. Nor will those Mormon missionaries tell the whole truth about the "Mormon Battalion"—they never learned the whole truth. Their sole fund of information is obtained from Mormon literature on the subject, and from listening to "Pioneer-day" orations by some of the brethren who are, perhaps as wilfully and densely ignorant on the subject, as themselves.

The story of the "Mormon Battalion" is brief, the facts easily obtainable, and they are herewith furnished with the hope that, some day, a Mormon will be found with sufficient courage to tell the whole truth in a Twenty-fourth-of-July oration.

When the Saints left Nauvoo their destination was Oregon, which is sufficiently proved by the contents of a circular letter "To the members of the Church throughout the world," issued by the Nauvoo high council, and from which the following excerpt is taken:

"In the event of the President's recommendation, to build block-houses and stockade-forts on the road to OREGON, becoming a law, WE HAVE ENCOURAGEMENT of having that work to do."

The "encouragement" that the Saints had received from the Government exhibited no desire to aid in their extermination; rather, to furnish them employment while en route to Oregon.

In the meantime, Elder Jesse C. Little (subsequently mayor of Salt Lake City) was placed in charge of the Eastern mission. To him President Young wrote in part as follows:

"Temple of God, Nauvoo; January 20th, 1846.

"If our Government shall offer any facilities for emigrating to the Western coast, embrace those facilities, if possible, as a wise and faithful man."

Aided by letters of introduction from Governor Steele of New Hampshire, and Colonel Thomas L. Kane of Philadelphia. Elder Little secured an interview with President Polk and laid before him the matter of aid for the exiled Saints in their efforts to reach the Pacific coast. The closing paragraph of Elder Little's appeal to the President and Cabinet, reads as follows:

"If you will assist us in this crisis, I herewith pledge my honor as a representative of this people, that the WHOLE BODY will stand ready at your call . . . "

It was finally decided that the Government would accept the services of five hundred Mormons between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, and march them overland to Southern California where they would be mustered out at the close of a year's service.

Colonel S. W. Kearney was chief recruiting officer for the West, with headquarters at Fort Leavenworth where a few hundred regulars were stationed. Colonel Kearney, under date of June 20th, 1846, issued an order to Captain J. Allen to proceed to Mt. Pisgah, Iowa, and enlist a battalion of five hundred Mormons. In part the order was as follows:

"You will have the Mormons to distinctly understand, that I wish to take them as VOLUNTEERS for twelve months, that they will be marched to California, receiving pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged and allowed to retain as their private property the guns and accoutrements to be furnished to them at this post."

From the proceeds of the enlistment of those five hundred men, the church received, at once, not less than $5,000, which was a God-send to the Saints at that special crisis in their unfortunate career.

That the members of the Mormon Battalion regarded their enlistment as an act of kindness on the part of the Government, and not as an arbitrary act of conscription, is shown by the following:

"With this end in view we left (Nauvoo) and were journeying with our teams, when the United States Government sent an INVITATION for so many men to enlist in the service for one year."—Elder William Wood, a member of the battalion, in "Millennial Star," Vol. X, page 125.

And that the leaders of the church regarded the enlistment of the battalion as an unalloyed benefaction is amply proved by the statement of Apostle John Taylor to the Saints in England, which is quoted:

"The President of the United States is FAVORABLY DISPOSED TO US. He has sent out orders to have five hundred of our brethren EMPLOYED in an expedition that was fitting out against California, with orders for them to be EMPLOYED for one year, and then be discharged in California, and to have their arms and implements of war given to them at the expiration of their term; and as there is no prospect of any opposition, *it amounts to the same thing as paying them for going to the place where they were destined to go without. They also had the privilege of choosing their own leaders.*"—Apostle John Taylor in "Millennial Star," November 15th, 1846.

Thus is another of the Saints' pet canards nailed to the cross of truth, and by one who subsequently became president of their church.

Suffice it to add that the conduct of the "Mormon Battalion" conferred honor on the church. Their trip overland was necessarily arduous, but the burning sands of Arizona were traversed during the winter season when the genial climate of that region is unsurpassed on the earth. After marching more than two thousand mlies the battalion was mustered out in southern California. Subsequently, some members of the battalion, while digging a mill-race for Sutter, discovered placer gold, which caused the stampede to California in 1849, and which proved to be another god-send to the Saints.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LAND OF THE SETTING SUN—LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION—BRIDGER, BONNEVILLE AND OTHERS

There is a very general belief among the masses of the people that the region towards which the Saints had so resolutely turned their faces, was a terra incognita. That from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean it was an intermingling of trackless deserts, burning sands and impassable mountains—a savage wilderness occupied by predatory tribes of redskins and prowling beasts. This popular impression has been strengthened by Mormon missionaries and writers in their mistaken zeal to credit the Utah pioneers with the full measure of praise that is due them for their magnificent achievements.

The following extract is from an oration by Elder George A. Smith, second counsellor to President Brigham Young, delivered in the tabernacle, Salt Lake City, July 24th, 1852:

"Without a guide, without a knowledge of the country, without reading even the notes of any traveler upon this earth, or seeing the face of a living being who ever set foot upon this land, we were led by the hand of God through his servant Brigham, through the difficult passes of these mountains, until we set foot upon this place," etc.

The facts are that, early in the last century, the Lewis and Clark overland expedition from the Missouri River to the mouth of the Columbia, notwithstanding the fearful hardships and dangers, had proved that overland travel with pack-horses was possible.

During the year 1810, John Jacob Astor of New York, outfitted an expensive expedition under the command of Wilson Price Hunt, which after experiencing almost incredible hardships and perils reached the site of Astoria, situated on the south bank and near the mouth of the Columbia River. The route selected by Mr. Hunt was up the Missouri River from St. Louis to a point near Bismarck, North Dakota, a distance of nearly three thousand miles by boat, and fully that distance by pack-horses, when the devious windings of the trail are considered.

The ill-starred expeditions of Lewis and Clark in 1807, and Hunt in 1810, temporarily checked further explorations along the Rocky Mountains south from Canada.

In 1822, General Ashley, of Missouri, established a trading post on the banks of the Yellowstone River, and the following year established another post on the Green River near the intersection of Utah, Wyoming and Colorado.

The Ashley post became a rendezvous for hundreds of adventurous white men, and within five or six years had become impregnable to assault from the Indians who, as tribes, spent a large portion of their time in fighting each other.

Among those in the employ of General Ashley, was James Bridger, who subsequently gave his name to the old pallisade fort on Ham's Fork, a tributary of Bear River.

In 1830 General Ashley, having become wealthy, and having given his name to the Ashley Fork of Green River, sold out his business to William Sublette, Bridger and others, and which, subsequently, became the Rocky Mountain Fur Company.

In the meantime the surrounding country had been thoroughly explored by the intrepid hunters and trappers. Such familiar names as Bear, Weber, and Ogden had been given to those respective rivers. Even "Jackson's Hole," now largely occupied by the descendants of those virile mountaineers and their Indian wives, was named during those early and strenuous years.

From the lofty and rugged mountain wall, called the Wasatch Range, an occasional, and original, pioneer, looked down on the great salt sea girt with a belt of pure salt. The great valley with its intermingling stretches of meadow land, gray sage brush and alkaline flats, with occasional rows of trees and shrubbery marking the course of small streams that emerge from the mountain bases, and after winding through grass-covered flats mingle their waters with that of the Jordan River, was indeed, a terra incognita to the trappers.

Beyond was a dim panorama of low isolated mountains and narrow ranges that offered no inducement to the hunter or trapper. But had they only known of the vast wealth in silver and gold that was locked up in those forbidding ranges, they would have abandoned their perilous hunt for skins, robes and peltries, and would have entered on the more arduous search for gold. Had they only known that magnificent truth, the Mormon pioneers would not now be annually celebrating the twenty-fourth day of July, 1847.

The establishing of trading posts on Green River compelled a more direct route from St. Louis than the circuitous one first traveled by General Ashley. Fort Leavenworth, Fort Osage and other favorable points, during the early thirties, were the rendezvous of hundreds of white men, hardly more civilized than the savage tribes of the western plains. And from those points during the springs and summers long cavalcades of horsemen and pack trains departed for the Rocky Mountains.

The first overland journey by wagon was about 1831, when William Sublette of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, convoyed a small train from the Missouri River to the Wind River mountains where he abandoned them.

The partial success of Sublette's experiment, no doubt suggested to Captain Bonneville, of the United States Army, the practicability of a like mode of conveyance for an exploring expedition to the Rocky Mountains.

It was during the latter part of 1831 that Captain Bonneville secured leave of absence and repaired to New York City, where he secured financial aid in the enterprise above referred to.

One of the conditions of the captain's leave of absence was that he would collect information of the country through which he might travel; of the Indian tribes, their strength and modes of warfare, and of the resources of the respective localities and their suitability for occupancy by the white race.

Captain Bonneville's train of twenty wagons, loaded with supplies and merchandise for barter with the Indians, and his little army of one hundred and twenty men, rolled out of Fort Osage on May 1st, 1832. There were four horses or mules to each wagon; and when the difficulties of an almost unblazed trail are considered, the progress of the expedition was remarkable.

Twenty-six days after leaving Fort Osage, the expedition reached the confluence of Laramie Fork with the Platte River. It was the place where, subsequently, a United States Army post was established and named Fort Laramie. From Laramie the captain's route up the Platte and Sweetwater was almost identical with that taken by the Mormon pioneers fifteen years later. On July 27th, Bonneville's train forded Green River and camped on some large meadows in an extensive valley, then known as "Pierre's Hole"—eighty-eight days from the date of departure.

One of the chief objects of Bonneville's expedition was the exploration of the Great Salt Lake. Indefinite reports of the existence of that vast body of salt water had reached the East, and the Government was desirous of obtaining reliable data. With that object in view, Captain Bonneville outfitted a party of forty men, and on July 24th, 1833, they started on their journey.

In the meantime, the captain and the remainder of his party were trapping, hunting and trading along the Snake River and its tributaries.

The next summer, as was the custom with all the mountaineers within a distance of several hundred miles, Captain Bonneville returned to the rendezvous on Green River. The Great Salt Lake exploring party also returned and made their report to the captain.

So far as the exploration of the lake was concerned, their trip had been almost a total failure; not, however, because of any natural obstacles. Their report was indefinite and incorrect. They told of vast stretches of hot sands, thirst and hunger. According to their statement, they entered Salt Lake Valley by way of Ogden Canyon, then followed the river down to the swampy ground on the east shore of the lake. From that point their route is mere conjecture. They, very likely, went north and skirted the north end of the lake. And instead of exploring the lake, they went on to Monterey, California, and on their return had vivid stories of bull fights, riotous living in that Spanish town, and of horrible cruelties to the unoffending Indians while en route.

Captain Bonneville was profoundly disappointed with the meagre information he had received of the salt sea, and deeply disgusted with their recitals of life in California, and their cruelties to the Indians.

The captain's expedition to the Rocky Mountains had been a financial failure, but during his stay in the Western wilds he collected a vast amount of useful information which was duly reported to the Government officials at Washington.

When, in after years, the United States Geological Survey mapped the great fossil sea that once occupied the northern and western portions of Utah, and of which Great Salt Lake is the largest of the remnants, they named the almost extinct inland sea "Lake Bonneville." It was a graceful recognition of the services of one of the most heroic and adventurous of those early pioneers of the West. And the great "Bonneville shore line," nearly one thousand miles in length, will remain a monument to Bonneville through all the ages.

The data embodied in the foregoing have been drawn from Irving's "Astoria" and "Bonneville," to which the intelligent reader is referred for valuable and fascinating information on those subjects that, in this chapter, are merely mentioned.

CHAPTER XIX

UTAH AS IT WAS, AND IS—TOPOGRAPHY—GEOLOGY—LAKE BONNEVILLE—MINERAL RESOURCES

Some twelve to fifteen miles south-easterly from Salt Lake City, and about one-third of the distance up from the base to the summit of the Wasatch range, and running along the mountain side a distance of ten or twelve miles in a southerly direction, is a scar deep-cut into the solid rock. Here and there the scar has been obliterated by erosion that has been at work during tens of thousands of years. The same mark, more or less distinct, can be traced along the west side, or base, of the mountain ranges in Utah, Juab, Millard, Beaver, and Iron counties, a distance of nearly three hundred miles southwesterly from Salt Lake City. Swinging around to the north, and trenching slightly on the east side of Nevada, the strange mark is found on the east side of the mountains, and continues its irregular course to the west and north of the Great Salt Lake; thence easterly, with tortuous contour, enters Cache Valley; thence again along the west side of the mountains the scar passes to the north and east of Salt Lake City. That scar represents the shore line of ancient Lake Bonneville, referred to in the previous chapter. In places the busy waves beat out terraces in the living rock. At others the receding waves carried back the detritus won from the mountain sides and built great deltas.

During its expiring centuries the restless water threw up great causeways that extended across the valleys and thus divided the dying sea into separate bodies of saline water. To the north, northwest and west of Fillmore, Millard county, the phenomenon of "dam"-building was so complete that the enclosures thus formed were once used as reservoirs by the residents of Fillmore, who believed that they were built by the "Nephites" for irrigation purposes. In two instances, one southwest of Fillmore, Utah, and the other at the north end of Spring Valley, Nevada, "turnpikes" were built across lowlands where not a pebble is to be found except in the material of which the low causeways were built. Those "pikes" are frequently used as wagon roads during wet weather.

Prior to the filling of the great basin with water, the valleys were scenes of savage desolation. Deeper than now, by hundreds of feet, large areas were covered with lava and flows from the great dykes and mountains of igneous rock. Great rivers of glacial origin poured into the lake from the east, north and south, carrying down vast quantities of gravel, sand and silt. And, as the lake receded, the streams and waves carried the debris further out until the forbidding face of nature was covered and smoothed down, thus forming gently descending benches and flats. The alkali derived from mountains of porphyritic rock was slowly washed, by rains and melting snows, from the benches and flats down into the depressions, thus forming alkaline flats and salt marshes.

On the land thus cleared of the salts, so deadly to vegetation, gray sage, greasewood, "rabbit" brush and "shad scale" sprang up and covered the uplands. "Bunch" and mountain blue grass covered every favorable spot on the mountain sides and benches; while rushes, flags and succulent meadow grass covered the lowlands with thick carpets of verdure.

The glaciers smoothed and rounded the higher lands and canyon-sides into graceful outlines, leaving here and there grim and grotesque forms carved from indurated rocks, yawning chasms and beetling cliffs as significant reminders of Utah's physical appearance before the age of ice, and prior to the existence of Lake Bonneville.

At the head of nearly every canyon the expiring glaciers ploughed deep basins which, today, are occupied by luxuriant meadows or crystal lakes, that, like great polished mirrors, reflect the beauty and grandeur of their mountain-walled environment.

On the north exposure of the mountain sides, pines, furs, balsams, shrubs and plants form dense forests, while the south exposures are in possession of pinyon pine, scrub cedar, mahogany, oak and sage.

In brief, the intermingling of the sublime and pastoral in the mountain scenery of Utah, and especially in the loftier ranges, is unsurpassed on earth.

Such were the marvelous transformations that nature, or nature's God, during the coming and going of countless centuries, prepared for the coming of the Saints.

More, nature had prepared for the Illinois exiles a climate unequalled on all the earth for life-giving vigor—a climate, while warm during the summer months, yet so delicately tempered by rarefaction, and cooled by zephyrs from the banks of eternal snow in the higher altitudes, that sunstrokes are never known; and yet so dry that no case of "white plague" has ever originated within the heaven-favored boundaries of Utah.

More: During the carboniferous age, nature laid down thick beds of coal sufficient to meet the demands of the United States for generations to come.

And yet more; from almost the southern boundary of Utah to the Idaho line on the north, a great earth-wound traverses the State. All along its sinuous course the unconformability of the rock-structure proves that on each side of the great fissure mountain plateaus rose and sank. Here and there hot, sulphurous springs rose to the surface, and many of them continue in a state of activity. Government geologists named that deep fissure the Sevier Fault. From that stupendous line of faulting, lateral and parallel faults occurred. Porphyritic rock material, from the earth's molten interior, moved up the fissures, and, cooling, became dykes. Heated water, bearing precious atoms of gold, silver, copper, lead and iron, flowed upward along the lines of weakness left by the cooled, or cooling dykes, and thus were formed the veins and deposits of ore from which the world has been enriched to the extent of more than two hundred millions of dollars, with hundreds of millions more of dollars waiting the advent of money, brains and honesty.

Such was the land that, in intermingled barrenness, richness, beauty and grandeur, awaited the advent of the Saints.

CHAPTER XX

CROSSING THE PLAINS—ROUTE OF THE SAINTS—ARRIVAL IN SALT LAKE VALLEY

The winter of 1846-47 was an unpleasant one for the Saints in Winter Quarters and Council Bluffs. And had it not been for the kindness of the Omaha Indians on the west bank of the Missouri, and the Pottawattomies on the east side, in permitting the Saints to cut logs for cabins and fuel, their sufferings would have been even more pathetic than they were.

And it is well to here state the principal reasons for the remarkable influence that President Brigham Young, and the Mormons generally, had over the copper-colored nomads of the plains, and the more localized tribes of the Rocky Mountain country. The Saints had with them the "Book of Mormon," the alleged inspired history of the Lamanites. To the remnant of the Lamanites great promises had been made regarding the part they would take during the latter days in aiding the Saints to secure control of the United States when, according to the prophecies, the Government would become weakened by foreign and internecine wars. The Indians ever listen with reverential awe while the story of their ancestors, and the important part the "remnant" will take in winding up the secular affairs of Uncle Sam, are being recited by Mormon missionaries. Another bond of sympathy between Saints and Indians is found in the drivings, robberies, etc., that each has "suffered from the people of the United States."

In addition to the foregoing, the leaders of the Saints early adopted the policy that it is "cheaper to feed than to fight" the redskins, and never to break faith with them. The occasional conflicts between the Mormons and Indians in Utah were the result of disregard of the policy of President Young.

A bronze plate on the north face of the granite base of the Brigham Young monument, Salt Lake City, after reciting the names of the first company of Pioneers, bears the following legend:

"The entire company and outfit consisted of one hundred forty-three men, three women, two children, seventy wagons, one boat, one cannon, ninety-three horses, fifty-two mules, sixty-six oxen, nineteen cows."

The company was thoroughly organized, and under the leadership of Brigham Young.

The Saints had all the information that could be obtained in those days of the trail across the plains, the Rocky Mountain region and of southern California, the then objective point of the expedition. But that information was necessarily meager.

On April 7th, or 14th, the dates are conflicting, in 1847, President Brigham Young led the first train of Mormons out of Winter Quarters, since named Florence. Their course was westerly over the rolling prairies of eastern Nebraska. Thence southwesterly to the Loup Fork, a tributary of the Platte River. Crossing over to the Platte, the caravan arrived at Fort Laramie on June 1st. At that point the company ferried the river and were hospitably received by the officers of the Fort. The Saints were then a trifle more than half way to the Salt Lake Valley.

From Fort Laramie, the caravan proceeded up the south side of the Platte River. About one hundred and twenty-five miles above Fort Laramie, the Saints were compelled, because of high water, to ferry their provisions and other effects over the river in the sole-leather boat they had taken with them from Winter Quarters. The empty wagons were floated over, and the animals forced to swim.

At that point the Saints encountered a train of Missouri emigrants en route for Oregon. Apparently the ancient feud was forgotten, or ignored in the presence of mutual trials and difficulties. The Missourians had no boat, and hired the Saints to transport their baggage and provisions across the river.

The following regarding the above-cited incident is from Tullidge's "Life of Brigham Young," page 165:

"The Missourians paid them $1.50 for each wagon and load, and paid it in flour at $2.50. Yet flour was worth $10.00 per hundredweight, at least, at that point. They (the Saints) divided their earnings among the camp equally."

The replenishment of the Saints' larder by the Oregon emigrants, was a beneficence, as their stock of provisions was even then becoming alarmingly low.

From the Platte the Mormon emigrants proceeded to the Sweetwater, which they followed some distance.

The western limit of the plains had then been reached, and above the hilly country to the west the snow-laden crests of the Rocky Mountains, each day rose higher. Each night the air became more crisp, with occasional light frosts as they entered the higher regions.

Notwithstanding the assertions of President George A. Smith, (see Chap. XVIII) to the effect that, "Without a guide, without knowledge of the country, without reading even the notes of any traveler," etc., President Brigham Young interviewed every mountaineer and trapper whom he met, relative to the soil, climate, etc., of the Salt Lake Valley; and which clearly proves that the cool, calculating brain of that great pioneer was endeavoring to solve the problem of ultimate location. That he had determined to investigate the resources of Salt Lake Valley, with the view of occupying it, is clearly proved by the fact that from the South Pass, President Young took the shortest practicable route to Jim Bridger's Fort on Ham's Fork. Thence on a down grade through Echo Canyon, crossing the Weber River at the point now known as Henefer, the Saints toiled up the "Big Mountain," then down and over the "Little Mountain" into the head of Emigration Canyon where the undergrowth along the creek was so dense as to make progress vexatiously slow to those whose tired bodies needed rest, and whose hungry eyes longed to look out on the possible "Land of Zion," not more than ten miles distant.

Apostle Orson Pratt, with a company of forty-three men and twenty wagons, was sent ahead to make road while the main company laid over a few days because of the illness of President Young.

Apostle Pratt and company arrived in the "Valley" on July 22nd. Two days later the main body of the Saints arrived and camped on the site of the future Salt Lake City. Since that date, the twenty-fourth day of July has been annually celebrated in honor of the Pioneers, and the natal day of the founding of an intermountain empire that, in the years to come, will be regarded by all peoples as one of the choicest and richest portions of the earth.

Considering the reduced resources of the Saints when they began their last journey in search of final refuge, their trip across the plains and through the mountains was such as to win the admiration of all men and women not steeped in prejudice and bigotry.

But there was no element of supernaturalness, although the Saints were buoyed by that same admirable faith which had held them together during the years of persecution and expulsion from Missouri and Illinois. It was merely the exploit of one masterful brain controlling the destiny of those whose implicit faith in the divinely-inspired authority of Brigham Young that constituted the only miraculous element of the problem.

CHAPTER XXI

UTAH—SKETCH OF EARLY DAYS—FIRST EFFORT AT PLOWING—FAMINE—SEA GULLS SAVE CROPS—"DRY-LAND" FARMING

At the time of the occupancy of Utah, it was Mexican territory, but it is claimed by Mormon writers that the Stars and Stripes were unfurled from a pole the Saints planted on "Ensign Peak," a high conical knoll on the low mountains about two miles north of the temple block, Salt Lake City. That incident is often referred to as unanswerable proof of the loyalty of the Mormon leaders. For the present that statement may pass without further comment than has already been made; and the further fact that the Saints had no flag containing the picture of a heron with a serpent in its talons.

No sooner had the Saints pitched their camp on the banks of City Creek, as the small mountain stream was subsequently named, than Samuel Turnbow unlashed his precious plow and attempted to turn over the sun-baked soil. It was an impossible feat. The shallow creek was easily dammed, however, and the precious water spread over the ground, making easy the task of cultivation. It was also the first attempt at irrigation in Utah, which was destined to make of the Rocky Mountain States one of the richest agricultural regions in the United States, area considered.

Less than a dozen acres of potatoes were planted, and owing to the lateness of the season, the largest of the tubers was not bigger than a marble. They were, however, carefully gathered and cared for, and, as "seed," produced abundantly the following season.

Later on, fall and winter wheat was sowed, from which a good crop was harvested the following year.

To the south of the future city, the annual overflow of Mill, Parley's and Big and Little Cottonwood creeks produced natural meadow grass, which aided in carrying over the horses and cattle of the pioneers. The dried "bunch" grass that covered the benches, proved to be unexpectedly rich in life-sustaining and fattening properties.

The winter of 1847-48 was unusually mild, and to that extent reduced the distress of the people. But as spring advanced food became scarce and the pioneers were compelled to resort to "greens" of various kinds, and to thistle and sego roots to maintain life. Owing to the nutritive and delicious qualities of the sego root, or bulb, which, in shape, resembles a small onion, the beautiful and chaste lily-like blossom was subsequently chosen as the State flower of Utah.

Crickets, grasshoppers and drouth were the early enemies of the Saints. But the sea gulls, millions of which occupy the islands in the Great Salt Lake, were the enemies of the crickets, and came to the rescue of the Saints in such amazing numbers and with such insatiable appetities, that the fields were soon cleared of the greedy and repulsive-looking insects. In gratitude for the alleged miraculous aid of the gulls the legislature subsequently made it a misdemeanor for shooting or otherwise killing them.

Salt Lake City occupies an angle formed by the low mountains to the north, and the bolder Wasatch range to the east, and which, in its course to the south, rises to the region of perpetual snow. The faulted and riven limestone, splintered granite peaks and pinnacles, and the deep-ploughed canyons, present a scene of savage grandeur, strongly in contrast with the valley at the base of the hoary old Wasatch, and which stretches out westerly a distance of ten miles where it is merged in the east base of the Oquirrh range.

The tens of thousands of railroad guide books, descriptive of Salt Lake City and its environs, and the ease with which they can be obtained, renders unnecessary any further description of the chief city of the Utah Zion.

The gold stampede of 1849 was an almost unalloyed blessing to the Saints. It enabled them to dispose of any surplus food products they possessed at exorbitant prices, and to purchase household utensils, clothing and bedding at ridiculously low figures.

During all those early years of hardship, toil and distress, the resolute and masterful Brigham was ever present. He encouraged and comforted the afflicted, and mingled with the Saints in their rude and humble amusements.

When the gold fever was at its height, and the depopulation of the infant empire was threatened by the desire of the people to join in the mad rush for sudden wealth, President Young thundered his anathemas at the too greedy Saints and thus saved Utah to the faithful of his followers.

During the occasional Indian "wars" of the early years, which were almost invariably precipitated by the hot-headedness on the part of the whites, Brigham Young was the mediator. He often visited the hostile chiefs in person and appealed to their sense of justice. In nearly every instance, the "Mormon Chief" was successful in restoring peace.

As soon as practicable, Utah was explored from Cache Valley on the north, to the semi-tropical climate of the Rio Virgin to the south. And, as fast as increased population would permit, settlements were established on nearly all the streams.

In the localities remote from Salt Lake City, the people raised sufficient bread stuffs for home consumption, and engaged in cattle and horse raising which the abundant mountain and valley pasturage made surprisingly profitable. Subsequently, sheep raising was added to the cattle industry, but soon became a monopoly, and would, in a few more years, have destroyed the mountain pasturage and irretrievably ruined the water sheds upon which the farmers depend for water for irrigation, had not the general government intervened with its policy of forest reserves.

Orchards were planted and produced abundantly.

In the early sixties, alfalfa was introduced into Utah from California and became the upland farmers' almost sole reliance for summer and winter feed for live stock. Alfalfa yields from three to six tons of rich hay per acre during each season. And it has proved that without irrigation, one good crop of alfalfa can each season be raised on the high mountain flats and plateaus where the snow fall is deep.

During recent years abundant crops of wheat, barley and rye have been raised by "dry-land" farming. And there are hundreds of thousands of acres of "dry-land" soil, contiguous to the railroads, that is open to the homesteader.

CHAPTER XXII

SYNOPSIS, 1850-1852—IMPERIUM IN IMPERIO ESTABLISHED—CIVIL LAW SUBORDINATE TO REVELATION

To the superficial investigator and thinker, the sermons of the leading men of Israel, and their logical results during the period between the years 1850 and 1859, were sufficient to brand Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Jedediah M. Grant, and many of the parrot-like members of the Twelve Apostles, as leaders of an organized band of cut-throats. And every effort of such astute Mormon writers and apologists as Charles W. Penrose only serve to intensify the blackness of the history of that unfortunate decade.

In the hurried sketch of the doctrines and history of the Mormon people, there has been an effort on the part of the writer to keep the thought prominently in the minds of the readers that the Latter-day Saints are profoundly sincere in their faith that Joseph Smith was a prophet of God. That same faith was the heritage of Brigham Young.

There is ample evidence that prior to the death of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young was intensely devoted to the Mormon faith. In a thousand ways he had proved his unwavering sincerity. "But," says the skeptical reader, "Brigham Young was a man of brains; a cold, calculating, far-seeing statesman. It was his ambition to be a leader of men rather than his devotion to religious duty that impelled him to lead his people into almost the very jaws of death."

There are very few who will withhold from Brigham Young the merit of unusual ability and rare statesmanship. Had he possessed worldly ambition there were ample opportunities by which he could have achieved distinction and wealth without taking the desperate chances involved in his attempt to lead his people half way across a continent, and over a region where a hundred contingencies, involving certain destruction, lurked along the almost untrodden route that reached out from Utah to southern California.

If any further evidence of his sincerity were needed, his defiance of the United States Government during the period under consideration, and the intemperate sermons he delivered, should be sufficient to permit his sincerity to pass unchallenged.

Although Brigham Young knew that one thousand miles intervened between himself and people and the confines of civilization, he also knew that, if he and his people, handicapped as they were, by almost crushing poverty, could make that journey, that the United States Government could easily send a sufficient force to Utah to compel respect for the law. He also knew that on this continent there was no place of refuge, other than Utah, for himself and followers, and ordinary prudence would have suggested to a man with far less brains than Brigham Young, that an enlightened diplomacy would have been more effectual in furthering his ambition than the fanatical and frothy defiance he persisted in hurling against the "enemies" of "God and His people."

Brigham Young had intelligence enough to know that an assumed pacific and patriotic course towards the United States Government would insure to him the religious and political control of his people to the end of his life. To the ordinary mind, unwarped by religious fanaticism, it was distinctly evident that the Saints had everything to gain, and nothing to loose, by cultivating friendly relations with the United States, of which they were then an integral part. But in the intensity of his fanatical faith the lessons of Missouri and Illinois were lost on Brigham Young. He, and his fanatically-insane followers, continued to claim that their persecution had come upon them because theirs was the only religion approved of God, and that the world was opposing and driving its adherents for the same reason that the Jews crucified the Son of God and persecuted His disciples.

The Mormon leaders also discovered passages of scripture to prove that from the days of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel and others, the migration of the Saints to the mountains had been predetermined by the "Lord, God of Israel." And the Saints were taught that after they had sojourned in the mountains a sufficient length of time, Daniel's vision of the "little stone cut out of the mountains without hands" would be fulfilled, and that it would "roll forth and fill the whole earth." The Saints believed that they were the "stone," and that God's promises would not fail. In fact, they believed that Elder Roberts' "somewhat wide margins" had narrowed down to comprehensible definiteness. And the Saints could now see that their expulsion from Missouri and Illinois was in direct fulfillment of God's pre-determined purposes. They were then in that peculiar frame of mind that warranted them in hurling defiance at "apostate Christendom."

In drawing on the predictions of the ancient prophets to strengthen the faith of the Saints, President Young seems to have temporarily forgotten his well-remembered saying that, "the Bible is like an old fiddle; you can play any kind of a tune on it."

Early in their career in Utah the Saints organized a provisional government and applied for admission into the Union under the title of the State of Deseret. (According to the Book of Mormon, the word "Deseret" means honey-bee.) The application for admittance as a State was, however, promptly turned down by Congress.

On September 9, 1851, the law admitting Utah as a territory was signed. The boundaries were as follows: Oregon on the north, California on the west, the summit of the Rocky Mountains on the east, and the 37th parallel of latitude on the south.

On September 28th, President Millard Fillmore filled the territorial offices as follows: Governor, Brigham Young, of Utah; secretary, B. D. Harris; chief justice, Perry E. Brocchus; associate justice, Zerubbabel Snow, of Utah; attorney general, Seth M. Blair, of Utah; marshal, Joseph L. Heywood, of Utah. All the Utah appointees were Mormons.

In the appointemnt of Brigham Young as governor of Utah, the long-deferred dream of the Prophet Joseph and all the leading Saints from 1830 to 1850, was partly realized—the religious and civil were at last merged in the Prophet of God;

church and state were united, the vicegerent of Jehovah and Governor Brigham Young were the same. In the matter of the union of church and state, so clearly indicated in the revelations to Joseph Smith, and in his prophetic utterances, the "enemies of God" in Missouri had annulled the alleged divine decree. On a larger scale the giver of Joseph's revelations was again defeated by some of his ex-servants, the "Laws and Fosters," Bennett, Higbee and others, and then laid at the door of the people of Illinois! Unfortunately, there is no record of how the angels wept for very joy on the 28th of September, 1850, when a large slice of Uncle Sam's domain came under the divine control of a prophet of the Most High. It was but the beginning of the end when the Government of the United States would be controlled by the "prophets, seers and revelators" of the Mormon church. And few there were, even of the most sanguine of the Saints, who realized that only fifty-four years would pass before their dream of priestly control would be partially realized.

That the Prophet-Governor, Brigham Young, believed that the spiritual and secular had been merged in him and that the latter must be subservient to the former, is evidenced by the following excerpt from a sermon delivered by him in the old Salt Lake tabernacle, February 18, 1855:

"My *kingship*, my presidentship, and all *shall bow to that eternal priesthood* which God has bestowed upon me. I have been Governor of this Territory ever since it has had one, and in all my official transactions I have acted in accordance with the priesthood. I never will infringe upon it with anything I may operate in my office; let them all go by the board, before I will be brought into a position that causes me to infringe upon my priesthood. In all my doings as an Elder of Israel, as holding the keys of the priesthood to this generation, if I continue to be Governor of this Territory, I shall magnify my office by my priesthood."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. II, page 188.

That President Young believed that the Almighty, rather than President Fillmore, had conferred on him the office of Governor of Utah, is abundantly proved by the following:

"We have got a Territorial government, and I am and will be

Governor, and no power can hinder it!"—Sermon of Brigham Young in Salt Lake tabernacle; "Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 187.

In the longer excerpt quoted above, President Young speaks of his "kingship," and the following quotation refers to the kingdom of which he believed himself to be the king:

"The Lord, God Almighty, has set up a kingdom that will sway the sceptre of power and authority over all the kingdoms of the world, and will never be destroyed; it is the kingdom that Daniel saw and wrote of. It may be considered treason to say that the kingdom which that Prophet foretold is actually set up; THAT we cannot help, but we know it is so, and call upon the nations to believe our testimony."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 202; April 6, 1854.

Apostle John Taylor, afterward president of the church, held the same views. Although hereinbefore quoted, he will again be called as a witness in support of the fact that all the leaders of the Mormon church, and the body of the Saints, believed then, as they do now, that their government is infinitely superior to, and more binding upon them, than the Government of the United States. Following is the excerpt from a sermon delivered by Apostle Taylor at the April conference of the church in 1853:

"Let us now notice our political position in the world. What are we going to do? We are going to possess the earth. Why? Because it belongs to Jesus Christ, and he belongs to us, and we to him; we are all one, and will take the kingdom and possess it under the whole heavens, and reign over it for ever and ever. Now, ye kings and emperors, *help yourselves, if you can*. This is the truth, and it may as well be told at this time as any other."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 230.

The reader will note the defiant tone of the remarks of the Mormon leaders just quoted. And that defiance was breathed by nearly every leader of the church up to 1890, when the conspiracy to secure statehood for Utah was hatched, and the object accomplished by a system of cringing and servile deception unparalleled in religious and political trickery and infamy.

POLYGAMY

At a special conference held in Salt Lake City, August 28, 1852, the revelation on polygamy was first presented to the Saints and confirmed by them. But the doctrine had been publicly taught, and publicly practised, from the time the Saints left Nauvoo in 1846.

At the time of its first submission to the church in 1852, President Young had in the neighborhood of fifteen wives, and the other leading elders were but little behind him in the polygamous race for celestial exaltation.

The following excerpts from sermons of a select few of the prophets, are furnished as samples of the religious pabulum ladled out to the original white occupants of the "wild and woolly west."

Twenty-seven days before the revelation on polygamy was publicly submitted, President Young spoke as follows:

"Admit, for argument's sake, that the Mormon elders have more wives than one, yet our enemies have never *proved* it. If I had forty wives in the United States, they did not know it, and *could not substantiate it,* neither did I ask any lawyer, judge, or magistrate for them. I live above the law, and so do this people."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 361.

How entirely applicable the then defiance to *prove* polygamy is to this year of grace, 1909.

The willingness of President Young and the leaders generally to care for the surplus marriageable sisters is eloquently illustrated in the following from Governor Brigham Young:

"If the companies are composed solely of young females, they may come by tens of thousands, if they like, for I have never yet seen anything in this *market* that can equal the handcart girls."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. IV, page 206.

President Heber C. Kimball was another ardent advocate of polygamy. In fact, "brother Heber" was "brother Brigham's" ecclesiastical "right bower" and oratorically-inspired parrot. He was ever on the alert to get an inkling of what his "file leader" wanted, and would then "go him one better." Following are some of "brother Heber's" choice remarks on the doctrine of polygamy:

"The principle of plurality of wives *never will be done away with,* although some sisters have had revelations that, when this time passes away and they go through the veil, every woman will have a husband to herself. I wish more of our young men would take to themselves wives of the daughters of Zion, and not wait for us old men to take them all; go ahead upon the right principle, young gentlemen, and God bless you for ever and ever, and make you fruitful, that we may fill the mountains and then the earth with righteous inhabitants. That is my prayer and that is my blessing upon all the Saints, and upon your posterity after you, for ever—Amen."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. III, page 125.

Again quoting from President Kimball:

"In the spirit world there is an increase of males and females, there are millions of them, and if I am faithful all the time and continue right along with brother Brigham, we will go to brother Joseph and say, "Here we are, Brother Joseph; we are here ourselves, are we not, with none of the property we possessed in our probationary state, not even the rings on our fingers?' He will say to us, 'Come along, my boys, we will give you a good suit of clothes. Where are your wives?' 'They are back yonder; they would not follow us.' 'Never mind,' says Joseph, 'here are thousands, have all you want.' Perhaps some do not believe that, but I am just simple enough to believe it."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. IV, page 209.

It has been vehemently claimed by Mormon writers and missionaries that, of all people on the earth, the male Saints are par-excellence, the champions of exalted womanhood—in fact, that it is the aim and purpose of polygamy to exalt women rather than to degrade them. And they invariably "point with pride" as an evidence of their higher regard for women, that the Mormons were the first to recognize the political equality of women, with men, and to give them the franchise. The truth is, that it was a political expedient. The Mormon leaders could plainly see that the influx of Gentiles was becoming dangerous to the Saints' political supremacy in Salt Lake City. The non-Mormons were largely bachelors, while about every third Saint had from two to a half dozen wives, and it is easily seen that political expediency then, as now, was compelled to do duty for exalted regard for womankind.

In proof that women have ever been regarded as mere chattels by a large number of male Mormons, the following from the pure lips of Heber C. Kimball—one of God's holy prophets—is submitted:

"I want to know if God will love and respect and send his angels to one of my wives, though she were fifty, sixty, or a hundred years of age, if she is disobedient to me when I am as merciful, generous and kind a man to her as ever lived? If she disobeys me, persists in taking a course contrary to my will and the will of God all the time, saying, 'I will do as I please, and the angels will come and visit me!' Neither God nor his son, Jesus Christ, will send the holy angels to minister to such a woman, and she need not tell about their coming to visit her, nor about receiving revelations from heaven concerning brother Brigham, and about what brother Brigham and brother Heber should do. Damn them vixens, they are not of God; they never saw Him, nor they never will, unless they repent of such foolishness. I discard such things, and so does our God, and so do angels. Get revelations for the Prophet of God to be subject to your requests!!! Get out, you stinking things; and you swamp angels, too!"—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. IV, page 226.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing quotation that the superlative vileness of "brother Heber" was an index to the average Mormon's estimate of women. The large majority of the Saints were—are—absolutely sincere in their faith. And in a majority of plural marriages, the motives were the purest. And in those instances the wives were as tenderly cared for as are the more fortunate of monogamous wives "in the world."

And what of those polygamous wives? They are the innocent victims of their faith; rather, to a degrading doctrine that lust had grafted on a religion that, divested of polygamy and its fatuous absolutism, has much that appeals to the loftiest attributes of men and women.

Aside from polygamy, the Mormon doctrines inculcate purity of life. As a rule, those plural wives were as true to themselves, to their husbands and to their God as any women that ever lived.

By reference to the first quotation from the "Prophet" Heber, it will be seen that some women were in quasi rebellion against polygamy, and some of them had "revelations"—fully as authoritative as those of Joseph, Brigham, Heber, et al.—to the effect that in the future life, each woman would have one husband, "all to herself." It was but the outward expression, or appeal, of divinely pure hearts longing for undivided connubial love, for homes over which there would rule one king and one queen.

With heroic fortitude, sustained by the faith that their earthly trials were but stepping-stones to undivided queenly honors in the future life, the Mormon women took up the cross of polygamy, and although, to many of them, each day was as a crucifixion, they carried it bravely, unflinchingly, uncomplainingly to the end. To those who knew those Mormon women intimately, there comes no feeling other than that of profoundest admiration and respect.

But what of the effects of the heart-hunger, the unsatisfied desires toward their husbands, on their sons and daughters? That question, if space will permit, may be discussed later on.

The only "reason" the ablest of the Mormon teachers of polygamy can give for its practice here, and hereafter, is that it expedites the purposes of the Creator.

As stated in a former chapter, the Mormons believe that spirits are begotten in heaven under the operation of natural law, the same as mortal bodies are begotten on this earth. And that the more wives a "god" has in heaven the greater will be the number of spirits of which he is the father. At the same time, the Mormon teacher will gravely affirm that spirits are now so numerous that they are contending for opportunities to capture earthly bodies so that they can enter on their "second probation."

The only "reason" the elders offer for the practice of polygamy in this life, is to furnish a greater number of bodies for the eager and anxious offspring of polygamy "on the other side of the veil."

That is, polygamy is justified on the grounds that it is necessary to practice polygamy on "this side" in order to relieve the congestion created by the practice of polygamy on the "other side!"

Even human geology informs us that countless millions of years have elapsed since this old world of ours was launched from its nebulous condition and sent wheeling on its endless orbit around the sun. And the history of this earth, marvelous as it is in its teachings of the lapse of time, is but an incident in eternity. It has been one of the many singular missions of the Mormon prophets to discover that the Creator of the universe is "pushed for time."

CHAPTER XXIII

BRIGHAM YOUNG'S INDIAN POLICY—GUNNISON MASSACRE ONE OF THE RESULTS

President Young's policy towards the "Lamanites" was embodied in his oft-enunciated axiom, "It is cheaper to feed the Indians than it is to fight them." On general principles, that policy was humane. But to the astute Brigham Young there was involved the more pressing question of self-preservation.

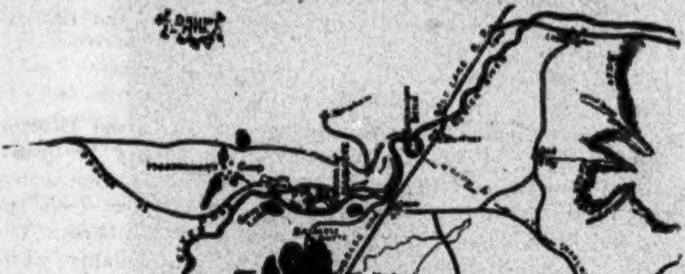
The towns and isolated hamlets of southern Utah were powerless to repel the redskins. And, in fact, a general uprising of the Indians would have been the ending of Brigham's intermountain empire.

The Walker and Black Hawk "wars" in Millard, Beaver, Sanpete, Sevier, Piute, and other southern counties were conducted under the instructions of President Young to scare as many of the "Lamanites," and to hurt as few of them as possible.

There was yet a deeper motive. The Mormon leaders had established a political theocracy in Utah and were determined to protect it by all hazards. In the event of an invasion by Uncle Sam, the friendship of the "Lamanites" would be invaluable. The Utah records of 1857 prove that alliances, offensive and defensive, were formed, and had Johnston's army attempted forcible entrance into the dominion of the Saints, the almost impassible mountain defiles would have become slaughter pens. Thus, because of the value of Indian friendship, no organized effort at retaliation for murders and stealings committed by the reds were ever undertaken by the Mormons.

Among the numerous unatoned crimes committed exclusively by the "Lamanites" the Gunnison massacre was the most prominent and atrocious. The only participant who was even arrested. was Indian Sam. During a brief season he was imprisoned in the Territorial penitentiary where he ate his rations with unusual regularity. And when questioned as to the identity of the reds, who killed Gunnison and his party, Sam was equally regular in his "Me no savy," or its less abbreviated equivalent, "Ninny kotch posougeaway." Sam was released in the spring of 1854.

Owing to the native reticence of the Indians, the complete facts could not be obtained for long years after the tragedy. For that reason, the several histories of Utah give but scant space to the pathetic incident. And it is solely for that reason



MAP OF MILLARD COUNTY SHOWING ROUTE TAKEN BY CAPTAIN GUNNISON AND SCENE OF THE MASSACRE that the inside history of the Gunnison massacre is given unusual space in this volume.

The sketch was written by the then editor of the Millard County "Blade," forty-one years after the tragedy. After its publication in the "Blade," the narrative was read to old Carboorits, one of the then surviving participants who lived at the Indian camp near Kanosh, and by him Indian Mareer's story of the bloody deed was unhesitatingly verified.

That the reader may obtain a clearer understanding of the incidents, an accurate map of the locality is herewith furnished.

The narrative is given as originally written, the title of which is

"THE GUNNISON MASSACRE"

"The attention of the traveler on the road from Deseret, Millard county, Utah, to Nevada, will very likely be drawn toward a cedar post that occupies an unusual position a few rods north of the Sevier River, and a hundred feet from the east side of a shallow lake which covers about ten acres. The place is about six miles west of Deseret, Millard county, Utah, with no habitation within several miles. The rough bark has been removed from the post, otherwise there is nothing in its appearance to attract attention except its isolated position. Yet, the spot over which that solitary post stands sentinel is historic and tragic—it is the burial place of a small party of employees of the United States, where, over forty years ago, Captain Gunnison and a portion of his military escort fell easy victims to a band of revengeful Indians.

"The memorable spot is situated nearly midway in the Pahvant valley, about thirty miles west of the Cañon range, and twenty-five miles east of the House mountains.

"Except where narrowed in by encroaching mountains, the valley stretches out in an almost unbroken plain to the Great Salt Lake, one hundred and fifty miles distant to the north.

"About two miles to the south, the monotony of the desert-like plain is relieved by a basaltic mesa, a dark volcanic mass which rises abruptly from the level country to a height of perhaps two hundred feet, the surface of which was swept by the waves of ancient Lake Bonneville, until it is nearly as smooth as the surrounding plain.

"Dotting the valley in the vicinity are numerous shallow lakes, formed by the overflow of the Sevier River whose sinuous trail across the valley is indicated by patches of scrub willows.

"The small lake first mentioned, is separated from the river by a small strip of ground occupied by grass and willows which abound in the immediate vicinity, both sides of the river (which is only four to six rods wide) being fringed with them. Rising gradually from the lake towards the north and east, the ground is three to five feet higher than the surface of the water, and is covered with a stunted growth of greasewood and "shad scale," (the local name given to a low-growing, thorny shrub). Patches of saline land glisten in the sunlight, and under the transformations wrought by the western mirage, are often mistaken for bodies of water.

"At the time of the massacre the present lake was marshy ground covered with flags, rushes and a rank growth of grass which extended well out towards the higher ground, thus forming an inviting, but dangerous nook.

"At the present time nothing remains of the willows on the east and west sides but the dead stumps. In other respects the place and its surroundings have nearly the same appearance as on that fateful afternoon when Captain Gunnison went into camp for the last time.

"The scene of the tragedy has been thus minutely described to enable the reader to more clearly understand why the Captain—whose reputation for courage has never been questioned—and his little band of brave companions failed to make even a semblance of resistance, and because no description of the place has heretofore appeared in print. Captain Gunnison's brother, when the locality was described to him several years ago in Salt Lake City, said he had 'always imagined the place to be in, or near, the mouth of a cañon from which the river debouched upon the plain.'

"In the year of the massacre, 1853, Fillmore was the capital of Utah, and the nearest settlement to the scene of the tragedy, being distant thirty-five miles southeasterly. A few of the old settlers yet remain who remember the occurrence. Among the old-timers is Byron Warner, now residing at Oasis, and who is not only familiar with the incidents of the tragedy, and well acquainted with the Indians who participated therein, but with the circumstances of which the Gunnison massacre was the unhappy result. And it is to Mr. Warner that the writer is most deeply indebted for that part of the account of the unfortunate occurrence.

"Mr. Warner's statement has been corroborated by Daniel Thompson, now residing at Scipio, and who, in company with Mr. Warner and others, helped to bury the dead. But three of the Indians that were present and took an active part in the bloody deed yet linger on this side of the 'happy hunting grounds.' One of them is old Mareer, who, with his squaw Mary, and old Sam, another of the surviving reds, is living in a wickiup on some otherwise vacant ground southwest of Deseret.

"By the aid of two rough maps placed before Mareer on two separate days, and with the assistance of some small coins and other presents of tobacco, etc., and after assuring the old fellow that the 'Mericats (Americans) wouldn't be mad,' the story of the attack was drawn from him.

"That his story is perfectly truthful is proved by the fact that at the second interview a new map was spread before him and the relative positions of the white men and Indians were accurately indicated as compared with the first map, and no amount of cross-questioning could shake his clear and vivid description of the attack and its blood-curdling details.

"Early in October, 1853, a company of Missouri emigrants, en route to California, passed through Fillmore and camped on Meadow creek, eight miles to the southwest.

"A small band of Pahvant Indians were also camped further up towards the mountains on the same creek as the emigrant train.

"Anson V. Call was at that time Bishop of Fillmore, and when the emigrants passed through, told them they would find a few of the reds camped on Meadow creek, that they were friendly, and the company need have no apprehension of danger, and asked that the Indians be not molested.

"The train had hardly gone into camp when Moshoquop—the Pahvant war chief—his father, Mareer and several others of the band, arrived at the camp of the strangers and offered to "swap" buckskins for tobacco and other articles.

"The emigrants were unnecessarily suspicious of the bows and arrows carried by the Indians, for they surrounded the reds and attempted to disarm them.

"The Indians resisted what they regarded as an unwarranted intrusion on their rights. One of them 'jabbed' an arrow into the breast of one of the emigrants, which so enraged them that, whipping out their revolvers, they opened fire on the Indians. In the melee, the father of Moshoquop was shot in the side and died the next day. Two other Indians were wounded, one in the shoulder and the other in the arm. Of the white men, all escaped injury except the one who received the slight wound in his breast from the arrow thrust.

"A few days after his father's death, Moshoquop and a band of about twenty Indians moved northwesterly to the vicinity of the lakes near Deseret for the purpose, as Mareer said, of hunting ducks, and crossing the Sevier River, camped a little to the northwest of the site of the present residence of David Crafts at Ingersol, about twelve miles northeast of Sevier lake, and six miles west of the place where Gunnison and his party were afterwards murdered.

"There were six wickiups, or tepees, and among the band were many Indians whose names are familiar to the old residents of Millard county. They are: Moshoquop, Pants (the brother of Moshoquop), Mareer and his brother Jim, Carboorits, Nunkiboolits, Tomwants and his son Koonants, Shipoke, "Doctor Jacob," Wahbits, Moab, Sam, Toady, Hunkootoop, Boquobits, and an unusually tricky red, named 'Jimmy Knights,' well known to the early stock-raisers by his thieving propensities and the boldness he exhibited in killing their stock.

"There were also in the band two Snake Valley Indians, a Ute buck from Nephi, one whose name cannot now be learned, and the father of Mareer; in all, a band of twenty-three warriors.

"During the year 1853, Captain Gunnison, with a small military escort under command of Captain R. M. Morris, had been exploring for a railroad route through the Rocky Mountains. In the latter part of October, Gunnison and his escort entered the Pahvant valley from the north and camped on Pioneer creek, six miles north of Fillmore.

"Gunnison, with a few of his party, went into the small settlement of Fillmore for supplies. The Captain lost no time in hunting up Mr. Call, with whom he was acquainted, a warm friendship having existed between them for several years, and from him learned of the killing of Moshoquop's father by the emigrants a few days previous. Mr. Call also warned the Captain of probable danger, as the Indians, with threats of revenge, had left their camp on Meadow creek.

"Gunnison expressed sorrow over the unfortunate affair, and said the Indians would very likely carry out their threats at the first opportunity.

"Being so near the Sevier lake—the dead sea of Millard county, Gunnison resolved to explore it and then to go on to Salt Lake City and establish winter quarters.

"Breaking camp on Pioneer creek, the party proceeded a few miles north to the present site of Holden where they left the territorial road and bore northwesterly. Passing the southern termination of the Cañon Range, the party continued on over the desert to the Sevier river and camped on a large bottom surrounded by high, precipitous banks, known at the present time as 'Gunnison's Bend,' and situated about five miles northeast of Deseret.

"On the morning of October 25th, Captain Gunnison started on his last and fatal mission of exploration. Accompanying him were R. A. Kern, artist and topographer; F. Creutzfeldt, botanist; Wm. Potter, a Mormon guide and interpreter from Manti, Sanpete county, Utah; a man who served as cook; a corporal and six men.

"The provisions and camp outfit were packed on an improvised cart, the tongue and front wheels of a wagon which was well adapted to the purpose.

"Captain Morris and a part of the escort were to continue in camp until the return of the Gunnison party. Meanwhile some of Morris's men were to examine the northwestern part of the valley as to the feasibility of a wagon road through to the Great Salt Lake.

"Following down the north side of the river in a southwesterly direction, the Gunnison party arrived in the vicinity of the upper lakes, where some of the men began shooting at the wild fowl which fairly swarmed in that vicinity. The firing was most unfortunate, as the reports of firearms reached the ears of Sam and Toady, two of Moshoquop's dusky band, who were hunting ducks along the river and sloughs.

"The Indians watched the little party until they went into camp on the ground now marked by the cedar post, when they hastened to the Indian camp and reported the presence of strangers.

"Wm. Potter, the guide, advised the Captain to make camp further to the north on the open and higher ground. His familiarity with the traits of the Indians led him to be suspicious of the surroundings, but his prudent advise was overruled. There is something in the nature of men that impels them, when camping near a spring or stream of water, to get as near to it as practicable.

"The horses were 'picketed' along the margin of the swamp to the north and northwest, and after the usual camp duties were over, and the last of the stories of exciting Western life had been told, the little party spread their blankets on the ground and retired for the night with no apprehension of the terrible fate that awaited them.

"On receiving the news of the white men, Moshoquop determined to avenge the death of his father. Calling his band of warriors together, he told them his purpose and explained in detail the plan of attack which was to begin at the firing of a signal gun. Each warrior was instructed as to the position he would occupy in the deadly cordon that was to be drawn around the slumbering explorers.

"It was about midnight when the line of march began. In single file they moved silently and swiftly forward, and as the dusky line glided in a sinuous course to avoid clumps of stunted greasewood and willows, it resembled the lithe movements of a huge serpent.

"The reds followed up the north bank of the river until they reached the western margin of the swamp which separated them from their victims, where the band divided. Moshoquop, Pants, Mareer, Nunkiboolits and several others continued on up the river bank. Stealthily creeping through the willows and tall grass, the Indians took their pre-arranged stations to the south and east of the Gunnison party and not over one hundred feet distant.

"The white men had beaten quite a distinct trail from the camp to the river. To the east of the trail, and a few rods from the river, Moshoquop took up his position; Carboorits skulked in the grass a few yards west of the trail on the bank of the river, while Pants crept to a position on the margin of the swamp, and not over thirty yards distant from the smouldering camp-fire; each savage being concealed in the rank grass and willows.

"The other portion of the band skirted the west side of the swamp and, bending easterly, caustiously crept to the north of the low-lying ridge which is not more than five feet higher than the marsh. Each Indian took the position previously assigned him, and before the faintest streak of dawn appeared, the doomed explorers were nearly surrounded by the wily savages who occupied the east, north and south sides of the camp, while the marsh cut off escape to the west.

"The first sign of activity on the part of the white men occurred just before sunrise. The cook was the first to arise, and in a few minutes the cheery gleam of the camp-fire shot upward, warning the men that no time was to be wasted in preparing for the morning meal. The iron tripod had been placed over the fire, the camp kettle hung in its position, the cook had begun mixing bread, Prof. Creutzfeldt was standing near the camp-fire warming himself, Captain Gunnison had walked out to the river, about seventy-five feet south from the camp-fire, and while in a sitting position, was bathing his hands and face.

"The sun had just arisen from behind the distant Cañon range when Pants stealthily rose from his place of concealment near the edge of the swamp, a sharp report rang out on the crisp air and the cook fell dead beside his camp-fire.

"Carboorits had been watching the Captain and waiting for the deadly signal. Startled by the report, Gunnison sprang to his feet and the bullet from Carboorits' gun sped past him. Quickly pulling his six-shooter, the Captain opened fire on his copper-colored assailant, who ducked and dodged to escape injury. The signal gun was followed by the rapid firing of nearly a dozen guns intermingled by the piercing war-whoop of the savages.

"The surprise was complete, and the dazed officers and men thought only of escape. Amid the shower of whizzing arrows which followed the emptying of the guns, the men ran toward the open ground to the north and northeast, and in the desperate race for life, threw aside their arms and divested themselves of coats and everything that might impede their flight.

"A few of the men fled in the direction of the horses. One of the soldiers, as he was about to mount, caught sight of an Indian as he was adjusting an arrow to his bow. With exceptional coolness the man quickly lowered his gun on the savage and fired. The Indian dropped, and the soldier rode away believing he had killed him. (Old Mareer says the wily redskin fell as the gun was fired, and escaped without injury, and that not an Indian was wounded.) Two others of the escort succeeded in mounting, one of them escaped on horseback, the other was thrown from his horse a short distance east of the camp, but had the good sense to remain quiet for several hours while the reds were passing to and fro, sheltered only by the stunted greasewood.

"The fourth man that escaped ran southeasterly, evaded his pursuers, and plunging into the river, swam to the south bank, where, within the friendly shadow of the willows, he continued his flight to the camp of Captain Morris.

"The Indians who had taken positions to the north, made no sign until the fleeing men were nearly onto them, when they sprang to their feet and with fierce yells poured a volley of arrows into the panic-stricken men, who, no doubt, were congratulating themselves on their escape.

"Captain Gunnison, after emptying his revolver at Carboorits, turned in the direction of the horses and had reached a point about seventy-five yards distant from the camp when he fell, striken down by nearly a score of arrows. Temporarily screened by the grass and willows, he lay helpless while the cries of his comrades and the discordant war-cries of the savages resounded in his ears. Some two or three hours later he was discovered by a party of the reds, among whom was Mareer, and who described in pantomine the last act of the terrible tragedy. Gunnison was lying on his side, and when the Indians appeared, slowly and painfully raised himself to a sitting posture. He made no sound, but reached out his arms in an appealing manner towards his assailants.

"Gunnison, in his several years of exploration in the West, had endeavored to impress upon the red men that he was their friend. In his conduct toward them he was uniformly kind and upright, and it was this fact that probably prompted the Captain to extend his arms, possibly, with the hope of mercy.

"Mareer says he did not know, until he saw the Captain partly rise from the ground, that he was with the party. Moshoquop was not present or he might, possibly, have given Gunnison a chance to recover from his wounds. As it was, the Indians hesitated, the Captain's mute appeal seemed to stir some latent feeling, or strike a stranger cord in their savage natures. But while standing there undecided, 'Jimmy Knights,' the renegade Indian, came up, discharged his gun into Captain Gunnison's body, which settled slowly back upon the sward, and one of the bravest and best spirits joined his comrades in the mysterious beyond.

"During the afternoon of the day of the tragedy, one of the fugitives staggered into the camp of Captain Morris and told the story of the attack, and stated that all but himself were slain. In a few minutes the two who had escaped on horses arrived and corroborated the story of the massacre.

"Hurriedly mounting, the Morris party rode down the river. Darkness coming on, they dismounted in the vicinity of their lifeless comrades, and holding their horses by the bridles, kept vigil throughout the long night which was rendered more dismal by the howling of the wolves which had begun the work of mutilating the bodies of the slain.

"In the dim light of the early morning, one of the survivors guided Captain Morris to the camp ground. The bodies were identified and their positions mentally recorded.

"The dreary night had been a severe strain on the men, and the spectacle of the mutilated bodies of their friends was so terrible and suggestive as to completely unnerve them. The stampede that ensued was more like that of men pursued by the bullets and yells of those who had made the previous morning memorable by their savagery than a company of armed men leaving behind them the forms of their stricken comrades. Overcoats, knapsacks, carbines, revolvers and ammunition marked the trail of their frenzied flight and added to the booty previously secured by the Indians.

"The news of the massacre reached Fillmore, and Bishop Anson V. Call sent Daniel Thompson, William and Culbert King, to Salt Lake City with a despatch announcing the deplorable event.

"Meanwhile, Captain Morris and the remnant of his command had reached Salt Lake City, and sent the corporal who, twenty-four hours after the massacre, went over the ground and helped to identify the remains, down to Fillmore. On his arrival, some ten days after the tragedy, Bishop Call selected George Black, Daniel Thompson, John King, Lewis Bartholomew, Byron Warner, and as Mr. Warner believes, Nelson Crandall, now of Springville, Chief Kanosh and Narrient of the Pahvant tribe, to go with him to the scene of the massacre.

"Messrs. Warner and Thompson describe the sight as the most pitiable they ever saw.

"About twelve days had elapsed between the morning of the massacre and the arrival of the burial party. The coyotes had so mutilated the dead that nothing remained of the small party of explorers but glistening skeletons. In some instances a leg, arm or foot could not be found. The remains of Potter were nearly intact. Those of Captain Gunnison were more readily recognized by the iron-gray hair which clung to his temples. The remains of Prof. Creutzfeldt were found near those of the cook, who was the first to perish. A steel-pointed arrow had pierced the body of Creutzfeldt and the barb was found imbedded in his backbone. Some of the men had reached a distance of about one-third of a mile to the northeast before being killed.

"Immediately after the arrival of the Fillmore party, Kanosh sent Narrient down the river in search of Moshoquop and his band, and gave orders to come in if they could be found.

"In those days not a member of the Pahvant tribe dared to disobey the intrepid chief, and as Mr. Call and his party were rounding up the top of the common grave, Moshoquop and his band came in sight across the swamp on their ponies. Circling the marsh they came on, whipping, kicking and leaning from side to side and yelling like demons. The reds were in their war paint, and with their long black hair streaming behind, presented a wild appearance.

"The corporal, who was not acquainted with the absolute power wielded by the Indian chiefs, thought another massacre would be perpetrated, and trembled like an aspen. Mr. Warner, who is a very nervy man, and accustomed to the ways of the Indians, says his sensations were anything but agreeable. However, when within a few rods of the scene of their murderous work, a motion from Kanosh caused them to be quiet, when he upbraided them for their devilish work.

"Moshoquop then told the partial story of the massacre, and endeavored to exonerate himself by relating the circumstances of his father's death at the hands of the white men. Mr. Warner asserts that during the recital, tears streamed from Moshoquop's eyes and that his appearance was a mixture of fiend incarnate and savage affection.

"The remains of Captain Gunnison and Wm. Potter were wrapped in blankets and taken to Fillmore where the Captain was buried; those of Potter were sent to Manti for interment.

"Of the three surviving Indians, Carboorits, who shot at the Captain, has lost his eyesight, and is ending his days in darkness on the Indian farm near the town of Kanosh. Mareer and Sam, as previously stated, are living near Deseret. Mareer is fast hastening to the grave, and Sam is a muttering imbecile.

"Moshoquop died two years ago in Deseret. He was of medium stature, compactly built, and as lithe and wiry as a panther. His forehead was high and retreating, his bearing reserved and dignified, his face, while indicating strength and a fearless nature, was frank and not unkind. In spite of the terrible deed he planned and carried out so relentlessly, he was better than the average Indian. While his part in the Gunnison tragedy cannot be justified by revenge for the death of his father, it is somewhat palliated by reflecting that his nature—like that of all other Indians—was the result of generations of transmission of ideas and customs incident to the environment of the red men."

CHAPTER XXIV

CIVIL GOVERNMENT BY THE PROPHET—SOCIAL LIFE IN UTAH—STEALING AND LYING, WHOREDOMS—BLOOD ATONEMENT

The fulfillment of the prophecy in the union of church and state in the Utah Zion seemed to have temporarily turned the head of the astute Brigham. In his dual position of vicegerent of God and representative of the United States Government, he assumed all the prerogatives of a despot. And the lesser lights, especially "brother Heber," vied with each other in the volubility of their intemperate harangues. Sabbath after Sabbath, scathing denunciation of the federal judges and other "imported" officials was heard from the tabernacle pulpit. Open defiance was hurled at the United States Government by President Young and others. If the grand and traverse juries failed to act in harmony with the views of the Prophet-Governor, in western English, "hell fairly popped."

Surprising as it may appear, some of the Saints rejected the revelation on polygamy. Those soon found a leader in Gladden Bishop, a Nauvoo Mormon, who had been excommunicated and reinstated nearly a dozen times. Gladden's leadership didn't last long. The Prophet-Governor quelled the incipient rebellion with the following energetic philippic:

"I say to those persons: You must not court persecutions here, lest you get so much of it you will not know what to do with it. Do not court persecution. We have known Gladden Bishop for more than twenty years, and know him to be a poor dirty curse . . . I say again, you Gladdenites, do not court persecution, or you will get more than you want and it will come quicker than you want it. I say to you, Bishops, do not allow them to preach in your wards." (After telling of a dream he had had, in which he saw two men creep into the bed where one of his wives was lying, whereupon he took a large bowie knife and cut the throat of one of them from ear to ear, saying, "Go to hell across lots," he continued:) "I say, rather than that apostates should flourish here I will unsheath my bowie knife and conquer or die." (Great commotion in the congregation, and a simultaneous burst of feeling, assenting to the declaration.) "Now, you nasty apostates, clear out, or JUDGMENT WILL BE PUT TO THE LINE AND RIGHTEOUSNESS TO THE PLUMMET." (Voices generally, "Go it, go it!") "If you say it is all right, raise your hands." (All hands up.) "Let us call upon the Lord to assist us in this and every good work."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 82.

Notwithstanding the protest the Saints invariably enter, and the cries of "persecution" they utter when one of their meetings is broken up; and the charges of "sectarian bigotry" they prefer when Mormon missionaries are barred from holding meetings, an orderly assemblage of the "Gladdenites" in front of the council house, corner of South and East Temple Streets, Sunday, March 20th, 1853, was dispersed by the city marshal. And the orders of President Young regarding future meetings of the "Gladdenites" was faithfully observed by the bishops.

The Mormon chiefs were early in the field with an election law that was but an echo of the despotic ecclesiastical rule of the church. Each voter was numerically listed in the order of his application for registration. For instance: John Jones appeared as the thirteenth man for registration; his number was 13. On his appearance at the polls, he would be handed a ballot. After the had "edited" his ballot in accordance with his views, he handed it to one of the judges. His name and number were then called by another judge, when this number would be entered on the ballot and deposited in the box. If the Prophet-Governor, or any other inquisitor desired to know whether or not John Jones was "in harmony" with the priesthood, ballot No. 13 could have been examined and the desired information secured. Thus was the "freedom of the ballot" sacredly guarded by the self-assumed vicegerents of God.

But when the Prophet-Governor desired to expedite an election, he cast all inconsequential formalities aside and proceeded thusly:

"It came into my mind when Brother Bernhisel was speaking, and the same thing strikes me now, that is, inasmuch as he has done first-rate as our delegate in Washington, to move that we send him again next season, though it is the Sabbath day. . . . Brother Kimball has seconded the motion that Dr. Bernhisel be sent to Washington as our delegate. All who are in favor of it, raise your right hands." (More than two thousand hands were at once seen above the congregation.)—Sermon of Brigham Young in the Salt Lake tabernacle: "Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 186.

Nothing was too great nor too small for the Prophet to tackle. In keeping his church in order, in building canyon roads and collecting every third load of fuel or timber as toll, in selecting delegates to congress, in supervising the doings of the City Council, and especially the police department; in the manufacture and disposal of whiskey; in interpreting the law to the federal judges, and publicly scoring them when they assumed to interpret it for themselves; in looking after the redskins in his capacity of Indian agent, Brigham Young was indefatigable in his industry. Whenever necessary, in the interests of justice, the Prophet-Governor attended to the enlightenment of the grand jury. Of the Prophet-Governor's officiousness in the matter of regulating the findings of the juries, we are dependent on the public utterances of President Jedediah M. Grant—the ecclesiastical left bower of the chief Prophet. And in order to partially acquaint the reader with the self-assumed importance of President Grant, a number of quotations from a sermon delivered by him on March 2, 1856, are herewith submitted:

"Last Sunday, the President chastised some of the Apostles and Bishops who were on the grand jury. Did he fully succeed in clearing away the fog which surrounded them, and in removing blindness from their eyes? No, for they could go to their room and *again disagree*, though, to their *credit*, it must be admitted that a *brief explanation* made them unanimous in their action."

Speaking of the traverse jurors, President Grant said:

"Not long ago I heard that, in a certain case, the traverse jury were eleven against one, and what is more singular, the one alone was right in his views of the case.

"Several had got into the fog to suck and eat the filth of a Gentile law court, ostensibly a court of Utah, though I call it a Gentile court. Why? Because it does not magnify the laws of Utah, as provided for in the 'Organic Act' by which 'Act' and laws it alone exists as a court."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. III, page 233.

Obtuse, indeed, or a hopeless bigot, must that man be who, after reading the foregoing excerpts, will deny complete union of church and state in Utah.

Again quoting from President Grant:

"A brief examination will soon convince a person, of only ordinary observation, that the laws of Utah are not administered in our courts, and that the judges must know that fact, and that they have been seeking from the first, with but few exceptions, to overrule them.

"Whether that course is prompted from the City of Washington, I do not know. Our laws have been set at naught and walked under foot, and in lieu thereof, a constant effort has been made to rule in common law, English law, and law after law totally inapplicable."

There is something in the atmosphere and surroundings of frontier life that almost imperceptibly impresses on the residents the quality of roughness. Men and women living in localities distant from civilization are wont to cast off the polished society of the more densely populated cities and communities from which they emigrate. In other words, they become "rough," and acquire an unreasoning contempt for the amenities of civilization. In many instances, and more especially in the younger people, even ordinarily good language becomes corrupted and is replaced by slang. And the man or woman who uses good English, or good manners, is charged with "putting on style." In the early days of Utah, in the remoter settlements, a man who dared to offer his arm to a lady in escorting her to a place in the cotillion, or on the dancing floor for a waltz, would have been dubbed a "dude," and would have been secretly, if not openly, jeered at by the young Mormons.

The usual mode of escorting "the girls" on the dance floors, was, at the "call" of the floor manager, to rush pell-mell for the coveted girls, catch them by the hand, and then stampede for favorite places on the floor. In those free-for-all stampedes the girls were fully as boisterous as the boys.

Whether or not the frontier freedom of those early days tended to weaken the moral fiber of the young, cannot be proved. But, from personal contact with life in Utah, from 1857 down to the present time, the writer is free to assert that no purer girls ever lived than those robust, rosy-cheeked and fun-loving maidens of the early days of Utah. Free and untrammeled in their movements as were the graceful antelopes of the plains, those Mormon girls possessed all the rugged virtues of pure and noble womanhood.

Conditions in Salt Lake City, were, however, somewhat different from those in the "country" settlements of Utah. Salt Lake was the winter rendezvous for trappers, mountaineers, gamblers, toughs and adventurers from nearly every State in the Union. During 1854, Colonel E. J. Steptoe, en route to California with three hundred regulars, spent the winter in Salt Lake City. This addition to the "society" of Salt Lake added largely to the gaiety of the embryo intermountain metropolis. The boys in blue, as well as the toughs from all creation, were eager to become acquainted with the Mormon girls, among which were many celebrated beauties.

However much women may protest, there is something in the physically perfect form of the soldiers and in their brass-mounted uniforms, that is fascinating to the average daughter of Eve. For those reasons the anxiety to become acquainted was mutual. And from the date of the arrival of "Steptoe's army," the Gentile "influence" increased with each passing year.

The mutual desire on the part of the Mormon girls and the strangers to become acquainted was a continual source of annoyance and alarm to President Young. And well it may have been, for it was current report that his favorite daughter, a petite and beautiful blonde, came very nearly having a romance with a bachelor lieutenant of Colonel Steptoe's force. But the austere authority of her father was brought to bear on the love-match, and the young lady subsequently went into polygamy. Her husband is now a well-known bishop residing in Salt Lake City.

The favorite resorts for becoming acquainted were the "ward" dances. But as they were jealously guarded by the bishops, their counselors and the "ward" teachers, the opportunities for becoming acquainted at those places were reduced to a minimum. President Young was frequently seen at the dances, and especially when his daughters were present. An incident to which President Young was a party occurred in the Social Hall, in 1860, and is worthy of record. The Social Hall, situated a half block south of the Eagle gate, was fitted up with a stage for amateur theatricals. By removing the seats the hall was often used for dances. The space beneath the stage was fitted up for dressing rooms.

On the occasion of one of the dances, "Billy" Gilbert, son of a prominent Gentile merchant, applied for a permit to dance, and was promptly refused. (Billy's reputation for "wildness" was sufficient to bar him from almost any kind of female society.) Young Gilbert told his troubles to Oscar F. Lyon, recently residing in Summit county, Utah. Oscar, after relieving himself of some of the old-time Mormon profanity, went to the vendor of tickets and after a heated parley, returned with the coveted permit. Handing it to "Billy," Oscar remarked: "I thought I could bring the G— d— s— of a b— to his milk." The men were standing near the foot of the stairs leading from the hall to the rooms beneath the stage. Oscar's choice words had hardly escaped him, when, from the semi-darkness of the adjoining room, the portly form of President Young appeared on the scene. His usually passive, almost expressionless, face was ablaze with righteous indignation. Turning to Billy, the President coldly remarked: "Mr. Gilbert, you may remain." And to the young and profane Mormon, he said, "Oscar, get your hat and go home!" And Oscar went.

The foregoing anecdote is not hearsay. The writer was standing in the doorway and knew that President Young was in the adjoining room and that he overheard every word that was spoken. The incident is given as an illustration of the social life in those early years, as well as to throw some light on the reasons for the intemperate public remarks from which quotations will be made.

And it is well to here remark, by way of apology for using Mr. Lyon's name, that he was no worse, no better, than the average Mormon youth in those days. The spirit of roughness, fighting and profanity seemed to pervade the very air. Yet, with all their roughness, the large majority of those Mormon youths were manly and honorable. Nor was profanity confined to the younger Saints. Many of the older ones had the "gift of tongues" when it came to swearing in nearly every vocabulary in existence.

President Young was not ignorant of the practice of profanity among the Saints. In the "Journal of Discourses," Vol. I, page 211, President Young is credited with the following:

"You Elders of Israel will go into the canyons, and curse and swear, G— damn and curse your oxen, and swear by Him who created you. I am telling you the truth. Yes, you rip and swear and curse as bad as any pirates ever did."

Another vice that afflicted many of the Saints was that of stealing. In the cow counties, that comprised nearly all the country south of Utah county, depredations were confined principally to cattle-stealing. The thieves, and they comprised nearly one-fourth of the population, used to steal from each other. The heaviest losses, however, fell on the owners of the smaller herds, who were too busy in other industries to look after their live stock, and generally too honest to steal.

Many of those old-time cattle thieves "repented" and became bishops, legislators, etc., and one of them rose to high distinction in the church.

However, if President Young is to be believed, the rank and file of the Saints had expert examples in stealing in many of the bishops. On June 15, 1856, President Brigham Young gave utterance to the following:

"I have proof to say that bishops have taken in thousands of pounds of weight of tithing which they have never reported to the general tithing office. They stole it to let their friends speculate upon."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. III, page 342.

Those defenders of polygamy who assert that its practice tends to elevate the morals of its participants can find but little comfort in the conditions existing in Salt Lake City between the years 1850 and 1858.

Nor were the Gentiles entitled to more than their proportion of the blame although they received the major portion of the scathing denunciation that, Sunday after Sunday, flowed in burning torrents from the lips of Brigham, Heber and Jedediah.

The reader will likely be fully satisfied with an excerpt or two from a typical sermon delivered by President Jedediah M. Grant on March 2, 1856. President Grant said:

"We have a few whoremasters here. Do you wish to know who they are? I can tell the first letters of their names, and I can tell where they have been practising their abominations in this city. And even some who profess to be 'Mormons' are guilty of enticing and leading girls to prostitution, saying, 'If you want a new dress you can get it very easily.'

"I have a gun and dirks in good order, and powder, and lead, and am ready and able to make holes through such miserable, corrupting rascals. These characters take 'Mormon' girls and debauch them, telling them that the United States will send their troops here, and that this people will be broken up and driven. We are a part of the United States ourselves; most of us were raised in America, and we are all cradled in liberty, and if the United States desires to drench the earth with our blood, we are on hand. Who is afraid to die? None but the wicked. If they want to send troops here, let them come to those who have imported filth and whores, though we can attend to that class without so much expense to the general Government; we can wipe them out cheaply and quickly, for they are only a few in number. They will threaten us with the United States troops! Why, your impudence and ignorance would bring a blush to the cheeks of the veriest camp follower among them. We ask no odds of you, you rotten carcasses, and I am not going to bow one hair's breadth to your influence. I would rather be cut into inch pieces than succumb one particle to such filthiness.

"I want the Gentiles to understand that we know all about their whoredoms and other abominations here. If we have not invariably killed such corrupt scoundrels, those who will seek to corrupt and pollute our community, *I swear to you that we mean to,* and to accomplish more in a *few hours* towards clearing the atmosphere than all your grand and traverse juries can in a year. There are a few professed 'Mormons' who, for a few dimes, wink at their iniquities, and keep the poor, mean, lazy scamps in their houses, saying, 'Oh, they are honorable men.' I admit that there are a few honorable men here who are not in the Church, some of whom I respect much.

"This eternal threatening of us with armies of the United States! I wonder what men think we are made of, when they threaten us! As if they expected that we were going to succumb to whoredom! If we were to establish a whorehouse on every corner of our streets, as in nearly all other cities outside of Utah, either by law or otherwise, we should doubtless then be considered good fellows. If we were to allow gambling, drunkenness, and every species of wickedness, the 'Mormons' would then be all right, they would not then threaten us with the armies of the United States. Oh, no.

"What is it that maddens the devils? Simply that we are determined to do right, and to set at defiance wickedness and wicked men, and to send them to hell across lots, as quick as we can. I do not ask any odds of them myself, I never have. If they behave themselves as white men ought to behave, we will treat them as such."

As an illustration of President Grant's profound devotion to his country, an excerpt will be taken from his sermon. And it should be borne in mind that his willingness, even desire, that the Government of the United States might perish by internecine war, was because of a few corrupt Gentile officials who had been sent to Utah.

"The armies of our nation will have plenty to do without attending to us; they will need us to help them. Yes, instead of bringing their armies to fight the people in Utah, they will need Utah's armies to help them. They are threatening war in Kansas on the slavery question and the general Government has already been called upon to send troops there. Well, all I have to say on that matter, is: *Success to both parties.*

"And in relation to the election of a speaker in the House of Representatives at Washington, the North and South, the East and West have each other by the ears. 'Success to all parties,' say I.

"Have we been disloyal to our country? Have we, in one instance, violated her laws? No! Have we rejected her institutions? No! We are lawful and loyal citizens of the Government of the United States, and a few poor, miserable, pusillanimous, rotten, stinking rebels come here and threaten us with the armies of the United States. We wish all such characters to understand that, if the generals and armies and those who threaten us are as vile as most of those heretofore sent here, we defy them, and the sooner we come in contact with them the better. These are my feelings, every time, on that point. As for you miserable, sleepy 'Mormons' who say to those wretches, 'Give us your dimes, and you shall have our wheat, and our daughters, only give us your dimes and you shall have this, that, and the other,' I not only wish, but pray in the name of Israel's God, that the time was come in which to unsheath the sword, like Moroni of old, and to cleanse the inside of the platter, and we would not wait for the decision of grand or traverse juries, but we would walk into you and completely use up every curse who will not do right."

Jedediah M. Grant's frothy threats to take the law into their (the Saints') own hands, and without judge or jury, to execute the Gentiles and apostate sinners was as the dismal cry of the desert coyote to the vibrant roar of Brigham who went after the sinful Saints in the following energetic manner:

"Live on here, then, you poor, miserable curses, until the time of retribution, when your heads will have to be severed from your bodies. Just let the Lord Almighty say, 'Lay judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet,' and the time of the thieves is short in this community. What do you suppose they would say in old Massachusetts should they hear that the Latter-day Saints had received a revelation or commandment to 'lay judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet'? What would they say in old Connecticut? They would raise a universal howl of 'How wicked the Mormons are. They are killing the evil-doers who are among them. Why, I hear that they kill the wicked away up yonder in Utah.' . . . What do I care for the wrath of man? No more than I do for the chickens that run in my door-yard. I am here to teach the ways of the Lord, and lead men to life everlasting; but if they have not a mind to go there, I wish them to keep out of my path."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. III, page 50.

Again, on February 24, 1856, President Young declared his independence of all worldly power. He said:

"I am not afraid of all hell, nor of all the world, in laying judgment to the line when the Lord says so."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. III, page 241.

That Brigham Young had no respect for the rights of saint or sinner, when those rights were in conflict with his preconceived ideas of what the Almighty wanted, has been abundantly proved by excerpta already taken from his sermons. In every sense of the word, Brigham Young was a religious despot. The laws of his country, the rights of those of other religious beliefs, were, in his opinion, all subservient to the laws of God of which he was the sole earthly interpreter and executioner. There is not the slightest doubt that he intended, and in some instances did, "lay judgment to the line and righteousness to the plummet." And to show exactly what the last quotation meant, the following excerpt is given: "The time is coming when justice will be laid to the line and righteousness to the plummet; when we shall take the old broadsword and ask, 'Are you for God?' And if you are not heartily on the Lord's side, you WILL BE HEWN DOWN."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol. III, page 266.

Nearly a year after the above threat to "hew down" those who were "not heartily on the Lord's side," President Young informed his enraptured audience that some religious executions had taken place, and there can be no doubt that the then vicegerent of the Mormon God was *particeps criminis* to some of those heaven-inspired murders. The quotation is as follows:

"I could refer you to plenty of instances where men have been righteously slain, in order to atone for their sins. I have seen scores and hundreds of people for whom there would have been a chance (in the last resurrection there will be) if their lives had been taken and their blood spilled on the ground as a smoking incense to the Almighty, but who are now angels to the devil, until our elder brother, Jesus Christ, raises them up, conquers death, hell, and the grave. I have known a great many men who have left this church for whom there is no chance whatever, for exaltation, but if their blood had been spilled, it would have been better for them. The wickedness and ignorance of the nations forbid this principle's being in *full* force, but the time will come when *the law of God will be in full force.*

"This is loving our neighbor as ourselves; if he needs help, help him; and if he wants salvation and it is necessary to spill his blood on the earth in order that he may be saved, spill it. Any of you who understand the principles of eternity, if you have sinned a sin requiring the shedding of blood, except the sin unto death, would not be satisfied nor rest until your blood should be spilled, that you might gain that salvation you desire. That is the way to love mankind."—"Journal of Discourses," Vol IV, page 220.

BLOOD ATONEMENT

The cause for those violent outbursts of inspired eloquence is found in the wickedness of the Saints during the year prior to, and including, 1856. In order to check the carnival of stealing and sexual crimes, what was known as the "Reformation" movement was inaugurated. The "block" teachers were given a list of questions which they were instructed to ask the Saints. There was an impression among the Saints that if they answered falsely they would be eternally damned. But if they answered truthfully they could be re-baptized and restored to full fellowship.

There is undisputable evidence that, in the reformatory movement, President Young "bit off more than he could chew." The reports of the block teachers were such as to shock the Lord's Prophet. Those reports proved the existence of such conditions that, had not the Goddess of Justice, reared by President Young for the special benefit of the Gentiles and apostates, been dazed by the abhorrent evidence, fully one-half of the Saints would have been beheaded, and their blood spilled on the ground as a smoking incense to the Almighty." In 1857, there was a well-authenticated report in circulation that, at a meeting of the "Seventy," those brethren who had been guilty of adultery were requested by President Young to rise to their feet. Fully three-fourths of those present stood up. The "Seventy" are next in authority in the priesthood to the twelve apostles, and the incident soon ended the blood-atonement threats of Brigham Young and his counselors. That, and the teachers' reports, seemed to convince President Young that if those "who were not heartily on the Lord's side" were to be "hewn down," there would be but little left of the Church in Salt Lake City, except the first presidency and the apostles.

As previously stated, it is not within the province of this work to give more of the history of the Saints than is necessary to point out those conditions that bear directly on the objective point of this discussion. For that reason those abundantly verified cases of blood-atonement, from the Parrish tragedy in Springville to that of Hatton in Fillmore, will, excepting the Hatton incident, be passed without comment. In 1856, while serving as night-guard against attacks by the Indians, Hatton was shot and killed. Within a brief period Heber C. Kimball married the handsome widow of Hatton. During the succeeding years there were fearsome whisperings to the effect that a certain resident of Fillmore was the murderer. But the motive for the crime was rarely referred to by the older Mormons, although often discussed by the younger Saints.

ELDER PENROSE TO THE RESCUE

In order to meet public criticisms of the Mormon doctrine of "blood-atonement" Elder (now Apostle) Charles W. Penrose, in a sermon delivered October 12, 1884, attempted to extract some of the hellishness from the sermons of the first presidency, by claiming that the blood of Christ affects only those who believe in Him, or are in fellowship with Him. And, therefore, that the blood of Christ does not reach those "who sin against the Holy Ghost," or those who, after receiving the Mormon religion, "turn away from the light," and become "apostate." And that, in order to save apostates, "their blood must be spilled on the ground as a smoking incense to the Almighty."

Granting, for the moment, the truth of the Mormon contention, and the application of Elder Penrose's quotations from Hebrews ix: 22, and x: 26, and Matthew xii: 32, what right did Brigham Young have to name the victims or to appoint their executioners? The Mormon will reply: "By the authority of the holy priesthood conferred on Joseph Smith by Peter, James and John, and conferred on Brigham by the founder of Mormonism."

From a Mormon view-point that reply would be entirely consistent. But the reply presupposes the superiority of Mormon law over the civil laws of the United States, and that assumption is vehemently, continuously and hypocritically denied by the present-day leaders of the Latter-day Saints. Assuming that the Mormon priesthood was the supreme power of the land, and so recognized by God and men, according to the Mormon creed salvation is based on the absolute agency of the individual. And assuming that the apostate Mormon, acting on his agency, had abandoned his previous faith in the divine mission of Joseph, and standing squarely on his agency, objected to being beheaded or having his throat cut, wherein would a Mormon prophet be justified in "spilling his blood" and thus force the apostate into the Celestial Kingdom against his will? Or, in plainer English, if an apostate Mormon preferred going to hell rather than to associate in heaven with such creatures as Heber C. Kimball, Jedediah M. Grant, Joseph F. Smith, Reed Smoot, et al., by what right, even under Mormon laws, have those men to force their society on an apostate by blood-atoning him?

It is sheerest hypocrisy for present-day Mormons to deny that blood atonement is not now a doctrine of their church. It was taught, as the Mormons believe, by a prophet of God, and the surrender of its public promulgation, and its infamous practice was because of the "usurpation" of the civil powers of the

United States of the alleged superior authority of the Mormon God.

Nor were the blood-atonement executions confined to Mormons or ex-Mormons. Some of the Gentiles suffered the extreme penalty because of their presence in Utah during a critical period. Only one of those mysterious murders will receive attention:

One evening in the spring of 1858, just before the advent into Salt Lake valley of Johnston's army, four horsemen rode into Summit Creek (now Santaquin), twenty-five miles southwesterly from Provo, and camped on the bank of the creek. Two of them were prisoners. One of the other two is today a high official in the Mormon church. After they had departed south, the next morning, some of the Summit Creek brethren were heard to remark that the prisoners were Government spies, and that their guards were conducting them to the Utah boundary where they would be sent on to southern California. Within three days the guards passed through Summit Creek going north towards Salt Lake City. A few years subsequently two skeletons of white men were disinterred from a shallow grave about four miles south of Nephi.

In his sermon to which reference has been made, Elder Penrose challenged the proof that the law of blood atonement had ever been put into effect. And that reminds one of President Young's defiance: "If I had forty wives . . . . they couldn't prove it." If forty murders had been perpetrated under the law of blood atonement and the heavenly benediction of Brigham, Heber, Jedediah and others, the world "couldn't prove it." If the coterie of vicegerents had no intention to execute the law of blood-atonement, why did they preach it?

If it were possible for the present-day leaders of Mormonism to collect every copy of the "Journal of Discourses" containing the sermons of those former-day fanatics, they would burn them, and then swear before high heaven that the blood-atonement doctrine was never taught by Brigham Young and others.

The following is from the anniversary editorial eulogy of President Brigham Young in the "Deseret News" of June 1, 1908:

"During the exciting times of the past, he, like other public speakers in times of excitement, may occasionally have given utterance to sentiments which in the light of today, and if the circumstances under which they were uttered are not considered, may appear disloyal."

As a sample of confession and avoidance, the above excerpt is typically Mormon.

The foundation of the Mormon church contention to exclusive jurisdiction rests on the Mormon claim that God has rejected all other churches, or, at least, that he never has, does not now, nor ever will recognize them as legitimate aids to the redemption of the human family. All Mormon asseverations to the contrary are for purposes of expediency and deception, which are disproved by every revelation given to the Prophet Joseph Smith.

Given the divine right of exclusive religious jurisdiction, the Mormon leaders are the exclusive representatives of Jehovah on this earth, religiously and politically. There can be no curtailment of either of those claims without the destruction of both. There is little in the Mormon creed that is not consistent with itself. There is nothing in the public statements of the Mormon prophets of today, except their persistent lying in their efforts to deceive the people of the United States as to the true political mission, the aims and objects of the Mormon church to control this nation in the interest of the only true Church of Christ on earth, and their lying about having abandoned the practice of polygamy, that is inconsistent with their religion.

At the time of the promulgation of the blood-atonement doctrine, President Young was, according to Mormon belief, the only representative of God on the earth. It is, therefore, useless for the present-day pigmy successors to the Prophet Brigham, the "Lion of the Lord," to attempt to deny the authenticity and far-reaching consequences of the blood-atonement doctrine. Owing to the divine and special mission of Mormonism, its various parts must stand or fall together. Mormonism, with its claim to divine authority, its revelations and doctrines, must exist as a complete and indivisible whole or it must totally collapse. The entire system being divine, and daily guarded by inspired "prophets, seers, and revelators" must be all right, or all wrong. The prophets must be right all the time, or wrong all the time. Surely, the Almighty cannot afford to jeopardize His "great," "glorious," "exclusive" and "strange work" by permitting the doctrines taught by the only great Prophet—Brigham—to be nullified by a coterie of modern pin-headed imitators. To admit that President Young taught false doctrine, or was premature in its announcement and enforcement, is to admit that a prophet is sometimes right and sometimes wrong. The man, prophet or layman, who admits that, discredits the infallibility of God and becomes an apostate. If Joseph F. Smith be permitted to deny, or modify, the far-reaching doctrine of divine political control as taught by his uncle, the Prophet, or deny or modify blood atonement as taught and practised by the Prophet Brigham, the present-day Prophet's successors in office may, with equal consistency, deny and modify the teachings of Joseph F. Smith, et al., and thus, in time, Mormonism would become an aggregation of denials and modifications, and therefore infinitely more deserving of contempt, because of its lofty pretentions, than are the "sectarian" churches upon which every Mormon generously bestows his self-righteous ridicule.

Brigham Young was a strong, self-reliant man, and intensely devoted to his faith. And if Brigham Young could be resurrected long enough to deliver an obituary sermon on the pigmy editor of the "Deseret News," it would be decidedly interesting. He would tell that brainless apologist that while the "times of the past," during the "fifties," were somewhat interesting, they were not "exciting" to a prophet of God. Brigham would tell them that he meant every word that he then said because every word was inspired. He would declare the truth that the reason why there was trouble between the federal judges and himself was that they declined to subvert the rule of the Government of the United States to the rule of the blood-atoning God of the Mormons.

Brigham Young would tell his interested auditors that his was the only kingdom that ever compelled the agents of Uncle Sam to agree to certain stipulations before United States soldiers could enter Uncle Sam's territory. Brigham would tell the editor of the "Deseret News" that he is a time-serving, cringing poltroon for daring to become the apologist for the Prophet of God. Brigham would say to Joseph F. Smith and those other weaklings who semi-annually accept the votes of the Mormons to "sustain them as prophets, seers and revelators," "You are a lot of old grannies. You lie, and twist and squirm like a lot of skinned eels in order to obtain temporary advantage over the miserable curses who are jeering you because of your cowardice. I told the people of the United States that I would force polygamy down their throats, and you cowardly apostates have outwardly surrendered it while you are secretly practising it. You are worthy disciples of Judas Iscariot. Did you ever know Brigham Young to lie in order to gain a point? Did you ever know Brigham to retract the doctrine that the Kingdom of God is established and ought to rule politically? No, never! Only such inspired chumps as yourselves would discredit the power of God by affecting the surrender of the practice of plural marriage even as a temporary expedient.

"Hereafter, keep your puerile brand of excuses and apologies for Brigham, for your personal use. You need it every time you open your mouths."

CHAPTER XXV

MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE

LEGITIMATE RESULT OF DOCTRINE OF UNQUESTIONING OBEDIENCE AND BLOOD ATONEMENT—PERSONNEL OF ASSASSINS—SCENE OF THE MASSACRE—DETAILS OF THE CRIME

Some four years ago a prominent Salt Lake editor, in a letter to the writer, said: "The Mountain Meadows massacre is an incident which should be forgotten." The gentleman was in error. The human family learns only by experience. The lessons taught by the tragedies of the past come down to us in the form of history, and become danger signals along the high-way of civilization, and which warn us of the peril which marches hand-in-hand with human passions, with ignorance and superstition.

Speaking specifically, the Mountain Meadows massacre should not be forgotten so long as Mormon writers, pulpiteers and missionaries use the "Missouri Persecutions," the "Martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith" and the "Expulsion of the Saints from Nauvoo" as influences for proselyting. Nor should the discussion of any tragedy cease until the causes which unerringly led up to the act shall have been eradicated, or until the lessons which it teaches are no longer necessary. The Mountain Meadows tragedy should be kept before the public until unquestioning obedience to the will of the Mormon prophets shall have been surrendered or exterminated. Those who suggest such lapses of memory, do so in the "interest of peace," a "peace" that would be purchased by a surrender of justice to injustice, or right to wrong, of the present to the future—a surrender in Utah of moral progress and civil liberty to mercenary advantages and political bribes held out by the prophets and the Mormon and pro-Mormon press as the price of silence.

It is fifty-one years last September (1908) since the wholesale murder at Mountain Meadows was perpetrated. Scores of books and hundreds of articles have been published on that most terrible event. Anti-Mormon writers have almost invariably overcolored and distorted the details, and have held the entire Mormon people responsible for that terrible crime. On the other hand, the Mormon press, writers and speakers have been equally untruthful and unfair in their efforts to shield the church from criticism by first placing the entire responsibility on the Indians, and when, subsequently, the truth was gradually forced home, have reluctantly conceded that John D. Lee and a few other lawless Mormons participated in the massacre.

It will be the province of this chapter to tell the uncolored truth of the tragedy, and while so doing to hold the scales of justice with a steady hand, and to spare, so far as possible, the feelings of the descendants of those unhappy men, who, under the blinding and deadening influence of absolute spiritual and temporal control, surrendered their God-given agency to the representatives of a harsh and intolerant priesthood.

The year 1857 was an eventful epoch for the people of Utah. During the four years preceding 1857 the prophets had been riding a high horse, religiously and politically. As before pointed out, and which will be more specifically discussed in Chapter XXIX—"UTAH POLYGAMY," the church leaders had presumed to interpret the civil law for the Federal courts, and to dictate the course of the judges. In fact, so high-handed were the measures of the alleged inspired oligarchy that the Federal Government outfitted a military force for Utah with the object of protecting the Federal officials in the administration of the laws of the United States.

As "Johnston's army" aproached Utah the Mormon leaders and people prepared for stubborn resistance. One of the vital essentials to a possibly long struggle was that of breadstuffs. The Saints had experienced the miseries of famine, the memory of which yet lingered with them. The Saints had three years' provisions on hand, and it was the incessant counsel of President Young that it be carefully husbanded. On September 15, (?) 1857, Governor Brigham Young issued a proclamation declaring martial law throughout the Territory, and of which three paragraphs are quoted as follows:

"Therefore, I, Brigham Young, Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Utah,

"First—Forbid all armed forces of every description from coming into this Territory, under any pretense whatever.

"Second—That all the forces in said Territory hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice, to repel any and all such invasion.

"Third—Martial law is hereby declared to exist in this Territory, from and after the publication of this Proclamation; and no person shall be allowed to pass or repass, into or through, or from this Territory without a permit from the proper officer."

The following letter is reproduced in full:

"Great Salt Lake City,
"Sept. 14th, (1) 1857.

"Colonel William H. Dame, Parowan, Iron County:

"Herewith you will receive the Governor's proclamation declaring martial law.

"You will probably not be called out this Fall, but are requested to continue to make ready for a big fight another year. The plan of operations is supposed to be about this. In case the United States Government should send out an overpowering force, we intend to desolate the Territory, and conceal our families, stock and all our effects in the fastnesses of the mountains where they will be safe, while the men waylay our enemies, attack them from ambush, stampede their animals, take the supply trains, cut off detachments and parties sent to the canyons for wood, or on other service. To lay waste everything that will burn—houses, fences, trees, fields, and grass, so that they cannot find a particle of anything that will be of use to them, not even sticks to make a fire to cook their supplies. To waste away our enemies and to lose none; that will be our mode of warfare. Thus you will see the *necessity* of preparing, first, secure places in the mountains where they cannot find us, or if they do, where they cannot approach in force, and then prepare for our families, building some cabins, caching flour and grain. Flour should be ground in the latter part of the Winter, or early in the Spring to keep. Sow grain in your fields as early as possible this Fall, so the harvest of another year may come off before they have time to get here. Conciliate the Indians and make them our fast friends.

"In regard to letting the people pass or repass, or travel through the Territory, this applies to all strangers and suspected persons. Yourself and Brother Isaac C. Haight, in your districts are authorized to give such permits. Examine all such persons before giving them permits to pass. Keep things perfectly quiet, and let all things be done peacefully, but with firmness, and let there be no excitement. Let the people be united in their feelings and faith, as well as works, and keep alive the spirit of reformation. And what we said in regard to saving the grain and provisions we say again. We do not wish to shed a drop of blood if it can be avoided.

"This course will give us great influence abroad.

(Signed) "BRIGHAM YOUNG,
"DANIEL H. WELLS.

"Certified to under seal by James Jack, Notary Public, August 16th, (?) 1876."

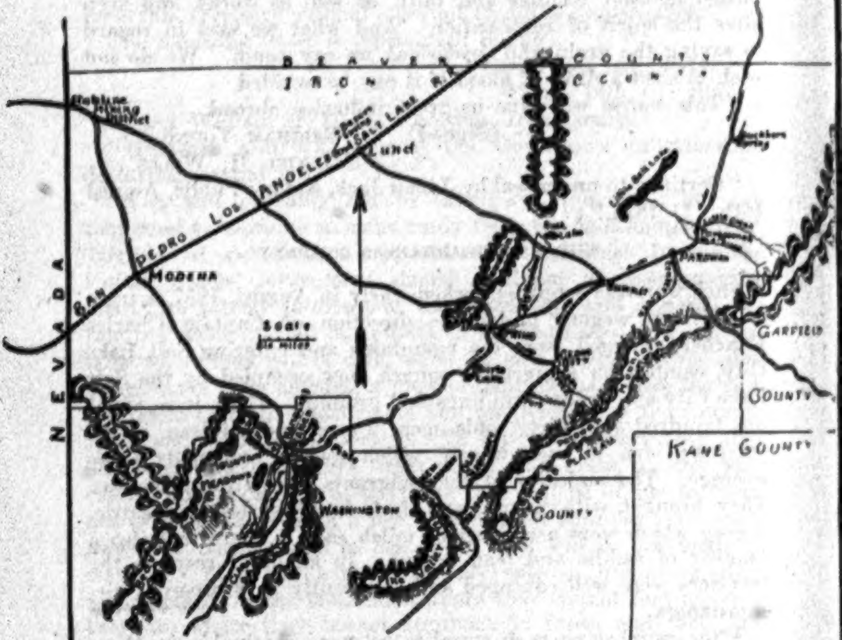
THE DOOMED ARKANSAS COMPANY

Such were the conditions when, early in August, 1857, a train of thirteen wagons under the direction of Captain Charles Fancher, emerged from the mountains and entering Salt Lake City, camped on Emigration square, now occupied by the Salt Lake City and county buildings and grounds. There were about one hundred and thirty souls, men, women and children, in the company—ten to each wagon, which was an unusually large average. The majority of the emigrants were from Arkansas. They brought with them about four hundred head of cattle, among which were a number of milch cows. There was also a number of saddle and team horses. In all other respects the travelers were well equipped and apparently in prosperous circumstances.

After purchasing such supplies as were obtainable in those early days, the company left Salt Lake City and by easy stages, traveled southward, following the Territorial road to southwestern Utah, which, after leaving the higher altitudes of Utah, enters upon the almost waterless deserts of southern

Nevada. It was over that road that the Arkansas emigrants expected to pass to their destination in southern California.

Mormon history alleges that the Arkansas emigrants were an aggregation of toughs. Old-timers along the route taken by the emigrants, still assert that the drivers of the teams were in the habit of killing the people's chickens by striking them with ox whips; with being excessively and shockingly profane; with boasting of having aided in driving the Saints from Missouri, and with helping to "kill old Joe Smith." They were also



MAP OF IRON COUNTY SHOWING LOCATION OF MOUNTAIN MEADOWS AND ROUTE TAKEN BY EMIGRANTS accused of threatening to raise an army in California and aid in the extermination of the Mormons.

On, or about, August 25th, the emigrants arrived at Corn Creek, Millard county. (See map, Chapter XXII—Gunnison Massacre.) It is alleged that, at Corn Creek, which is one hundred and sixty-five miles southwesterly from Salt Lake City, the emigrants poisoned the carcass of an ox and gave the meat to the Pahvant Indians, then living on Corn Creek, with the result that three or four of them died. It is further alleged that the emigrants poisoned the water of a nearby spring. It is asserted that the incidents just related were the primary causes of the alleged uprising of the Indians and the extermination of the emigrants.

In view of the fact that the emigrants cannot be called in rebuttal of the charges preferred against them by the Saints, an impartial analysis of the then prevailing conditions, and of the evidence pro and con, will form the concluding portion of this chapter.

Leaving the emigrants at Corn Creek, we will precede them to Parowan and Cedar City in Iron County, distant some two hundred and forty miles to two hundred and seventy miles southwesterly from Salt Lake City, and introduce some of the abettors of, and active participants in, the most cowardly and atrocious crime of the Nineteenth Century.

It should be stated and borne in mind, that in addition to his being commander of the Utah militia south from Beaver county, Colonel William H. Dame was the ecclesiastical bishop of Parowan, the county seat of Iron county.

Isaac C. Haight, lieutenant-colonel under Dame, was president of the Iron (county) stake of Zion, and resided at Cedar City, some thirty miles southwesterly from Parowan.

John M. Higbee was major of the Iron county militia, and first counselor to President Haight.

Philip Klingensmith was bishop of Cedar City ward.

There were other minor church and military officials who were participants in the massacre.

Before proceeding, the reader is invited to study the accompanying map of Iron, and a portion of Washington counties, and thus become familiar with the geography of the locality.

JOHN DOYLE LEE

"I was born on the 6th day of September, A. D., 1812, in the town of Kaskaskia, Randolph county, Illinois. My father, Ralph Lee, was born in the State of Virginia. He was of the family of Lees of Revolutionary fame, and was a relative of General Robert E. Lee, of the late war; he served his time as an apprentice and learned the carpenter's trade in the city of Baltimore. My mother was born in Nashville, Tennessee. She was the daughter of John Doyle, who, for many years, held the position of Indian agent over the roving tribes of Indians in southwestern Illinois. He served in the war of the Revolution, and was wounded in one of the many battles in which he took part with the Sons of Liberty against the English oppressors. About the year 1796, he was appointed Indian agent, and moved to Kaskaskia, Illinois."

The above is from the interesting autobiography of John D. Lee, and there is regret that lack of space precludes a more extended quotation.

The engraving herewith is an excellent likeness of John D. Lee, produced from a photograph taken just prior to his execution.

In stature John D. Lee was about five feet seven or eight inches in height, of powerful build, tireless energy and unchallenged courage. He was also a man of more than average intelligence, of deep religious convictions, love for his family and friends, and loyal to his duty as he saw it. His energy and intelligence enabled him to rapidly acquire property, but amid the shifting scenes of the Mormon church emigrants he was ever on the frontier and repeatedly lost all that he had gained during the short seasons of rest. Lee was a typical frontiersman, with inherited Southern hospitality. And had fate been less unkind to John D. Lee, he would have lived and died a highly respected citizen instead of being execrated as one of the most heartless criminals that ever lived. But, gentle

Reed Smoot

~~JOHN DOYLE LEE~~

readers, you that have brains as well as hearts, be patient until the story is told, and, so far as possible, withhold your condemnation of John D. Lee until you are in that mental attitude that your anathemas will fall where justly deserved.

In 1836 Lee was living on Duck Creek, Fayette county, Illinois. He was then twenty-four years of age. He was not a professor of religion, but during that year a Mormon elder by the name of King preached in the neighborhood and Lee was converted. He then moved to Missouri and became closely identified with the Mormon church, and intimate with the Prophet.

Lee's unconquerable faith that Joseph Smith was a prophet made of him an abject slave to the will of the church leaders. To John D. Lee the voice of Joseph and Brigham was as the voice of God, and fully as binding on his brain and conscience as though the Creator had personally uttered the command or counsel. As with all other really devout Mormons, Lee was ever on the alert to infer the desires of the prophets, and to actively anticipate the realization of their slightest wishes.

Lee shared with the Saints all the soul-harrowing hardships of the Missouri trouble and the expulsion of the Saints from Illinois. He was out on an electioneering mission for Joseph Smith's presidential aspirations when the Prophet and his brother were murdered in Carthage jail.

Farming for the emigration Saints, and other duties assigned to him by President Brigham Young, detained Lee at Council Bluffs until the summer of 1849, when he crossed the plains to Utah.

It is important to state that Brigham Young's attachment for Lee was so great that he "adopted" him, by "sealing," into his celestial family. Lee's standing in the church may be inferred from the fact that between Nauvoo and Salt Lake City, and during the subsequent years, he was the contented husband of nineteen wives. On that subject Lee's personal statement will be interesting, and is given as follows:

"I took my wives in the following order: First, Agatha Ann Woolsey; second, Nancy Berry; third, Louisa Free (now one of the wives of Daniel H. Wells); fourth, Sarah C. Williams;

fifth, old Mrs. Woolsey, (she was the mother of Agatha Ann and Rachel A. I married her for her soul's sake, for her salvation in the eternal state); sixth, Rachel A. Woolsey (I was sealed to her at the same time that I was to her mother); seventh, Andora Woolsey (sister to Rachel); eighth, Polly Ann Workman; ninth, Martha Berry; tenth, Delithea Morris. In 1847, while at Council Bluffs, Brigham Young sealed me to three women in one night, viz., eleventh, Nancy Armstrong (she was what we called a widow. She left her husband in Tennessee, in order to be with the Mormon people); twelfth, Polly V. Young; thirteenth, Louisa Young (these two were sisters). Next I was sealed to my fourteenth wife, Emeline Vaughn. In 1851, I was sealed to my fifteenth wife, Mary Ann Williams. In 1858, Brigham Young gave me my seventeenth wife, Emma Vatchelder. I was sealed to her while a member of the Territorial Legislature. Brigham Young said that Isaac C. Haight, who was also in the Legislature, and I, needed some young women to renew our vitality, so he gave us both a dashing young bride. In 1859, I was sealed to my eighteenth wife, Teressa Morse. I was sealed to her by order of Brigham Young. Amasa Lyman officiated at the ceremony. The last wife I got was Ann Gordge. Brigham gave her to me, and I was sealed to her in Salt Lake by Heber C. Kimball. . . . . By my eighteen real wives, I have been the father of sixty-four children. Ten of my children are dead and fifty four are still living."

The foregoing was written by Lee a short time before the sentence of death on him had been carried out. As a matter of history, and as bearing on a branch of the subject to be presently discussed, it should be stated that Lee married Ann Gordge in 1866, or in 1867, some nine or ten years after the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Miss Gordge was a resident of Beaver City, Beaver county, and the incident is well remembered because it was a well-known fact that John D. Lee was a prominent actor in the tragedy at the "Meadows," and the fact of his taking another wife created wide-spread criticism and comment among the Saints of southern Utah.

In 1851, Lee went south with President Young and aided in locating Provo, Fillmore, Beaver, Parowan and other settlements in the middle and southern part of Utah. In 1852, Lee located Fort Harmony (See Old Harmony on Map) where he was living at the time of the massacre. Lee was Indian agent under Governor Brigham Young.

FROM CORN CREEK TO MOUNTAIN MEADOWS

It is now in order to accompany the Arkansas emigrants from Corn Creek to the Mountain Meadows, their final camp-ground, in Washington county.

From Corn Creek the train moved southwesterly on the Territorial road a distance of twenty miles; thence through Barker pass to Dog valley; thence over the divide to Cove valley and thence to Beaver, a distance of two hundred and ten miles from Salt Lake City. Grass was abundant along the route, and by moving slowly they were not only saving their work cattle, but were "killing time" until the hot sands and gravel-strewn mesas of Nevada should be sufficiently cool for comfortable travel.

From Beaver the train moved over into Iron county where their course is marked with darts on the map. The tortuous road from Cedar City to the Meadows is forced by the low but rugged ranges of mountains and lava beds.

It was about September 7th, when the emigrants made their last camp at the point designated by a cross on the map.

THE CONSPIRACY

The proof that a conspiracy was entered into between Isaac C. Haight, John M. Higbee, Bishop Philip Klingensmith, John D. Lee and others to "wipe out" the emigrants, rests very largely on the evidence given by Laban Morrill in the second trial of John D. Lee at Beaver in 1876. And, inasmuch as the existence of any conspiracy, or understanding, by the leading ecclesiasts and military authorities of Iron county, and elsewhere, to murder, or to have murdered, the emigrants from Arkansas, is generally denied by the Mormon people, the personality, standing and reliability of Laban Morrill should be stated.

At the date of the conspiracy, Laban Morrill lived at Johnson's Fort (now Hamilton's Fort) some six or seven miles southerly from Cedar City. Mr. Morrill was a man of commanding presence, a fine face and indicating at once a judicial and kindly character. He was devoted to the Mormon religion. After the trial of Lee, Mr. Morrill moved over in to Piute county and became the pioneer of Junction, now the county seat. He died some ten or fifteen years ago, leaving a large family which, like their father, is highly respected.

After the usual preliminaries, Laban Morrill testified as follows:

" . . . We had formed a kind of custom to come together about once a week, to take into consideration what would be the best good for those three places (Cedar, Johnson's Fort and Shirt's Creek). I happened on Sunday (about September 7th) to come to Cedar City, as I usually came, and there seemed to be a council. We met together about four o'clock, as a general thing, on Sunday evening after service. I went into the council, and saw there a little excitement in regard to something I did not understand. I went in at a rather late hour. I inquired of the rest what the matter was. They said a company had passed along toward Mountain Meadows. There were many threats given concerning this company."

Mr. Spicer, for the defendant, objected to Mr. Morrill's testimony on the ground that it had not been shown that the defendant was present at the council meeting. Sumner Howard, for the people, explained the object of Mr. Morrill's testimony, and Judge Boreman ruled that the evidence was pertinent.

Mr. Morrill proceeded as follows:

"As I said, there appeared to be some confusion in that council. I inquired in a friendly way, what was up. I was told that there was an emigrant train that passed along down near Mountain Meadows, and that they had made threats in regard to us as a people—said they would destroy every d—d Mormon. There was an army coming on the south and north, and it created some little excitement. I made two or three replies in a kind of debate measures that were taken into consideration, discussing the object, what method we thought best to take in regard to protecting the lives of the citizens.

"My objections were not coincided with. At last we touched upon the topic like this: We should still keep quiet, and a dispatch should be sent to Governor Young to know what would be the best course. The vote was unanimous. I considered it so. It seemed to be the understanding that on the coming morning, or the next day, there should be a messenger dispatched. I took some pains to inquire and know if it would be sent in the morning. The papers were said to be made out, and Governor Young should be informed, and no hostile course pursued until his return. I returned back to Fort Johnson, feeling that all was well. About eight and forty hours before the messenger returned—business called me to Cedar City, and I learned that the job had been done; that is, the destruction of the emigrants had taken place. I can't give any further evidence on the subject at present."

Question by Howard: "What was the name of the messenger sent to Salt Lake?"

Ans.: "James Haslem."

After cross-examination by W. W. Bishop had elicited the information from Mr. Morrill that when he referred to "the job" he meant the killing of the emigrants, Mr. Howard put the following re-direct questions:

Ques.: "Did you say that a messenger was to be sent down to John D. Lee?"

Ans.: "I did, but I did not see him start. I understood at the time a messenger was to be sent."

Ques.: "What did you understand?"

Ans.: "I understood that there was to be word sent down towards Pinto Creek."

Ques.: "For what purpose?"

Ans.: "To have the thing stayed according to contract, to agreement made."

Ques.: "What do you mean by the thing being stayed? Was the massacre of that emigrant train discussed there at all?"

Ans.: "It was, sir; and some were in favor of it, and some were not."

Ques.: "Who were they?"

Ans.: "Bishop Smith (Klingensmith) I considered, was the hardest man I had to contend with."

Ques.: "Who else spoke about it?"

Ans.: "Isaac Haight and one or two others. I recollect my companions more than any one else."

Ques.: "They were very anxious and rabid, were they not?"

Ans.: "They seemed to think it would be best to kill the emigrants. Some of the emigrants swore that they had killed old Joseph Smith; there was quite a little excitement there."

Ques.: "You have given us the names of two who were in favor of killing those emigrants—who were the others?"

Ans.: "Those were my companions, Isaac C. Haight and Klingensmith. I recollect no others."

In his "Confession" John D. Lee states that on, or about September 7th, he received orders from Isaac C. Haight, ecclesiastical and military commander of Iron county, to report to him at once in Cedar City. Lee left his home in Harmony and, on arriving at Cedar, met Haight on the public square. Haight informed Lee that he had a matter of great importance to communicate, and suggested that they take some blankets and spend the night in the "old iron works." (After the failure to make iron, the brethren used the building for a distillery.)

During the night Haight told Lee that in addition to the outrages perpetrated by the emigrants while en route to Cedar, they had burned a lot of fencing from the co-operative field, thus throwing it open to the range stock. That the emigrants had resisted, by force of arms, the Cedar City officers who attempted to arrest them for some infraction of the laws. Lee was also informed of the council meeting held that day, and to which reference has been made, and that the "authorities" had decided to arm the Indians and set them on the emigrants. In reply to a question by Lee, Haight is alleged to have answered as follows:

"It is the will of all in authority. The emigrants have no pass from any one to go through the country, and they are liable to be killed as common enemies, for the country is at war now. No man has a right to go through this country without a written pass."

Haight then told Lee that he must return to Harmony and instruct Carl Shirts, Lee's son-in-law, an Indian interpreter, to go down in the southern part of Washington county, and "stir up" the Indians; to tell them that the "Mericats" were at war with the Mormons and Indians, and that they had permission to attack the emigrant camp.

Haight also told Lee that he would have Nephi Johnson, another interpreter, aged nineteen years, "stir up" the Indians in the vicinity of Cedar and Parowan. And that Oscar Hamblin, another interpreter, would be commissioned to "stir up" the reds on the Santa Clara River, south from the Mountain Meadows. That Oscar performed his mission well, is proved by the following testimony given at Lee's second trial:

Question to Jacob Hamblin, brother of Oscar:

"Who else did he mention?"

Ans.: "He mentioned my brother being there, bringing some Indians there. Sent him word of this affair taking place, and for him to go and get the Indians, and bring up the Clara Indians."

Ques.: "Your brother, then, brought the Indians to the Meadows, and then left there?"

Ques.: "Yes, he told me so."

It is pertinent to here state that Jacob Hamblin was a very devout Mormon, a trusted missionary to the Indians, and highly respected by his Mormon brethren.

Among other things, Haight is alleged to have told Lee that inasmuch as the emigrants could not obtain the supplies of food they required, that they had threatened to take it by force from the weaker settlements along the route, and instructed Lee to go down to the Meadows with the Indians and see to it that the emigrants did not carry out their threats.

THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS

The Mountain Meadows are situated about twenty-five miles southeasterly from Modena, a distributing station on the San

Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake railroad, and distant from Salt Lake City two hundred and seventy-three miles.

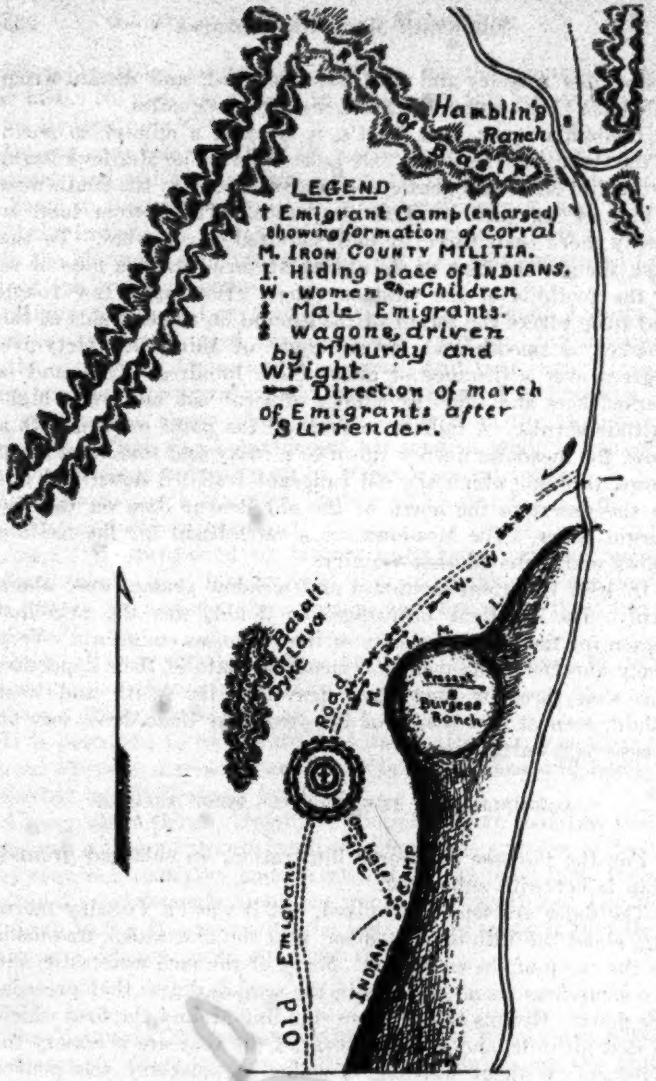
Hamblin's ranch, now Holt's, is situated a mile or so north of the "rim" of the Great Salt Lake basin. The Meadows begin at the rim and, on a gentle descent, reach out to the south-west a mile or so, then bend to the south. The bottom land is hardly more than three to four hundred yards wide. To the west, the ground rises on an almost uniform grade a mile or so to the foothills of the western range. Barring a few rough and steep places the ascent of the ground on the east side of the meadow is smooth and on an angle of thirty to thirty-five degrees over a distance of about three hundred yards, and is marked here and there by clumps of scrub oak and other high-altitude shrubs. A mile or so south of the point marked with a cross, the meadows narrow down to a rocky and somewhat steep gorge, through which the old emigrant trail led down and out on the desert to the north of the old Beaver dam on the Rio Virgin River. The Meadows are a catch-basin for the melting snows and rains in that vicinity.

In 1857 luxuriant mountain and meadow grasses were abundant. The excellent pasturage, no doubt, was the principal reason for the protracted stay of the Arkansas emigrants. Very likely another inducement to extend the date of their departure was that three or four days' travel to the south and west would, even at that season of the year, take them down into an excessively warm climate.

ASSEMBLING OF THE INDIANS—FIRST ASSAULT

For the purpose of clearer illustration, an enlarged ground-plan is herewith submitted.

The dates are somewhat mixed, but it was on Tuesday morning, about the 19th of September, that the first attack was made on the camp of the emigrants. Many of the men were astir, and the camp-fires shone cheerily in the semi-darkness that precedes the dawn. Groups of men were standing around the fires which, at that altitude, and at that season of the year are necessary for comfort. Without warning, a volley of musketry was poured



MAP OF MOUNTAIN MEADOWS

into the camp from the east hillside. Seven men fell dead, or mortally wounded, as the result of the first fusilade, and sixteen were wounded. The result evoked triumphant war-whoops from the Indians. Hastily securing their arms, and guided only by sounds on the hillside, the emigrants returned the fire with such precision that several of the redskins were killed and a number of them were wounded. Of the latter were two war chiefs who were wounded in their knees and subsequently died because of lack of skilled aid.

The Indians, several hundred strong, were dazed at the suddenness and fierceness of the defence, and were astonished that any of their number should have been killed in defiance of the divine protection that it is alleged had been promised them. Frightened and disgusted the Indians hastily retreated, and sent a runner over the mountain to Harmony to notify John D. Lee of the attack and its consequences. According to Lee, the Indians also sent word to him that he must go over at once and lead them to victory.

In the meantime the emigrants moved their wagons into a circle and chained the wheels together. They also dug a pit in the middle of their hastily improvised fort, large enough to protect the women, children and wounded.

Lee lost no time in riding over the mountain to the Indian camp, and found them, as he afterward said, "in a frenzy of excitement." Lee also said in his "Confession," that the Indians told him that if he did not lead them, and aid in avenging the death of their braves, they would declare war on the Mormons.

According to his statement, Lee believed that the emigrants had been sufficiently punished for their alleged wrong-doing, and that he was filled with a desire to save them, and in order to gain time, told the Indians that he would go south, meet the reds that were expected from the Santa Clara and hurry them up. That seemed to pacify the reds and they permitted him to go.

About sixteen miles south of the Meadows, Lee met Carl Shirts, fifteen armed white men, and nearly one hundred Indians, mostly from near the Virgin River. Lee gives the names of the white men, but as the descendants of those men are in no wise responsible for the sins of their fathers, no sorrow should be added to their lives by again, needlessly, publishing the names of those who, under a fearfully mistaken sense of duty, brought life-long wretchedness upon themselves, and a lasting sense of shame on their offspring. The object of this discussion is to point a moral, not to inflict needless suffering.

Lee and the other white men camped on the ground where they met, while the Indians hurried on to the Meadows. Lee recited the incidents of the attack, and avers that his companions were not surprised, that they understood the object of their "mission." According to Lee's statement, he spent the night in tears and prayers. He says: "I asked for some sign, some evidence that would satisfy me that my mission was of Heaven, but I got no satisfaction from my God." From his statement it would seem that when Lee met those white men a full realization of the awful nature of the "mission" upon which he had entered was, for the first time, forced into his priest-controlled brain. For the first time he realized that the whites were to participate in the hideous crime that, like a perpetual nightmare, was to haunt him during nearly a score of years.

The morning after their camp on the Santa Clara, Lee and his companions went on to the Meadows.

Some three hundred or more Indians were camped at the spring about one-half mile below the camp of the emigrants. By a determined on-rush, the reds could easily have captured the camp of the emigrants. But more Indians would surely have bitten the dust. Aside from the dislike of the Indians to sound the reality of the "happy hunting grounds," there was apprehension on the part of the whites then present, that if more of the Lamanites were killed, the survivors would, as they are alleged to have threatened, turn on the Mormons and gratify their revenge.

After a "hearty" meal, Lee sent the following message to Haight: "For my sake, for the people's sake, for God's sake, send me help to protect and save these emigrants."

Towards evening the Indians made another attack on the emigrant camp. Lee heard the firing and the screams of the women and children. Taking two white men with him, he ran in the direction of the Indians and received several bullets through his clothing. He attempted to quiet the Indians by pleading with them to desist until word was received from Haight, but was unable to do so until Oscar Hamblin, who it appears had not "left" the Meadows, went to Lee's assistance. Hamblin, like his brother, Jacob Hamblin, was a good interpreter and had great influence with the Indians.

In the meantime the despair of the emigrants was such that they dispatched a young man by the name of Aiden and two companions to Cedar City for assistance. At Pinto, sometime in the night, those men met William C. Stewart and several other men en route from Cedar City to the Meadows. Aiden told the nature of his errand to the Mormons. Stewart killed Aiden and wounded one of his companions. Those men escaped in the darkness and returned to the camp of the emigrants. After that most despicable crime, amply verified by Jacob Hamblin's testimony, some of which has been quoted, no carping Saint should deny that those white men, and for that matter, the large majority of the others, did not understand the object of their "mission" to the Mountain Meadows.

[Note.—It is more than probable that the name of the young man who was killed at Pinto was William Eaton, rather than Aiden. A young man by the name of Eaton, twenty-four years of age, and an uncle of a lady now living in Salt Lake City, was one of the victims of the massacre. The confusion of names so alike in their pronounciation would have been easy and natural under the circumstances.]

After the second attack by the reds on the emigrants, the white men moved their camp to a flat on the east hillside, marked "Burgess ranch," which has been established within recent years. The locality is about one quarter-mile southeasterly from the old camp-ground of the emigrants.

Notwithstanding the promise of the Indians that they would defer further violence until a message could be received from Haight, Wednesday evening saw them gathering in strength behind the basaltic dyke, and not more than two hundred yards from the improvised fort of the emigrants. Just before day-break, the next morning, the Indians opened fire on the ill-starred Arkansans, but were again repulsed. And notwithstanding the sheltered position of the redskins, the Santa Clara Indians lost one brave and three others wounded. Disgusted with the failure of divine protection, the Santa Clara reds rounded up some of the emigrants' stock and returned to their camp on the Santa Clara River.

The spring from which the emigrants obtained water was about one hundred yards below their camp. Usually they secured water in the night. But on Thursday morning two men made a dash for the spring and, amid a shower of bullets, filled their buckets and returned to camp in safety. During Thursday John D. Lee crossed diagonally over the meadow to the west for the purpose, as he said, "to take a look at the situation." The emigrants recognized him as a white man. They immediately ran up a white flag and sent two boys out to interview Lee. One of the boys was Charley Fancher, son of the captain of the emigrant train. Charley was one of the few children saved from the slaughter, and with whom the writer remembers playing marbles in Salt Lake City during the early summer of 1858. Lee says because he had not yet heard from Haight, he secreted himself, and the lads, not being able to find him, returned to camp. No one fired on the boys. Behind the shelter of the basalt dyke, Lee went down close to the camp, and from the shelter of the crest of the ridge "took a look at the situation." While looking down on the camp, Lee saw two men go out for wood, and after coolly chopping it, while a rain of lead spattered around them, they reached the corral in safety. From what I know of the ground, those bullets must have come from behind the dyke from which Lee was taking a "look at the situation," or from the brow of the flat where the white men were encamped. In all other directions, the valley and hillsides afford no protection from a return fire by the emigrants.

On Thursday evening, John M. Higbee, Bishop Klingensmith, Samuel M'Murdy, who was Klingensmith's counselor, several members of the Cedar City Council, and other officials and members of the Mormon Church, about forty in all, arrived at the

Meadows. Along with the white men was Nephi Johnson, who took with him a band of Indians from Cedar and Parowan. In all, there must have been fully fifty white men and three hundred Indians present and all well armed.

The reader may now prepare for the recital of the most diabolical act of treachery and cold-blooded murder that has ever disgraced the descendants of those, who, it is alleged, were "created in the image of God."

Higbee handed Haight's orders to Lee, who, as he claims, protested against the infamy of the program.

Just before daylight on Friday the brethren held a "council" meeting. But before doing so they knelt down, arm-to-arm, heart-to-heart, and invoked the blessing of Almighty God on the act that was to be performed. The council meeting was then held and Haight's plan was discussed. Some there were who opposed it. But the law of "common consent" which, by the way, is ultimately the law of the priesthood, prevailed. The nature of the order from Haight, signed as military commander of the militia of Iron county, will be developed in the tragedy that was enacted in the afternoon.

THE MASSACRE

What the reflections of the people in the beleagured camp were can only be inferred—the story has not been written, nor will the whole truth be known until the record shall be opened before the "great white throne," and the final judgment rendered. But the return of those who went out with Aiden, or Eaton, and the story they told of his murder, was calculated to impress the emigrants with the conviction that the Mormons and Indians were allies in the effort to destroy them. Theirs was a most pitiful situation. Against their ever diminishing number there were pitted a large band of murderous redskins, and an unknown number of white men. The emigrants had doubtless been extravagant with their ammunition, for, according to Lee, they had only about twenty rounds left when they "capitulated."

About two o'clock on the afternoon of Friday, September

22nd, an unusual commotion took place in the ranks of the assailants. As if by magic the Indians disappeared in the brush and bushes along the base of the east ridge, and out of view from the emigrant camp, a quarter of a mile or so, to the south.

Under command of Major Higbee, the militia moved to the point where the east hill bends around to the south.

John D. Lee and William Bateman, the latter carrying a white flag, walked down the road toward the emigrant camp. Following them were two wagons. When within some two hundred yards of the camp, Lee stopped and Bateman went on alone. The emigrants saw the white flag and sent a man by the name of Hamilton out to confer with Bateman. After a short parley, Hamilton returned to the camp and within a few minutes again went out to Bateman. The latter waved his flag, the signal agreed upon. While the militia were moving around the bend and down toward the camp, Lee joined Bateman, and, followed by the wagons, proceeded down to the corral. The emigrants assisted in moving one of the wagons out of the circle, thus permitting the wagons driven by Samuel M'Murdy and Samuel Knight to enter the corral. As Lee and Bateman entered the enclosure, the emigrants were in the act of burying two men who had died from the effects of wounds.

The following is quoted from Lee's "Confession." "As I entered the fortifications, men, women and children gathered around me in wild consternation. Some felt that the time of their happy deliverance had come, while others, although in deep distress, and all in tears, looked upon me with doubt, distrust and terror." Describing his feelings, Lee continues: "My position was painful, trying and awful; my brain seemed to be on fire; my nerves were for a moment unstrung; humanity was overpowered, as I thought of the cruel, unmanly part I was acting. . . . I knew that I was acting a cruel part and doing a damnable deed. Yet my faith in the godliness of my leaders was such that it forced me to think that I was not sufficiently spiritual to act the important part I was commanded to perform. . . . I delivered my message and told the people that they must put their arms in the wagon, so as not to arouse the animosity of the Indians. I ordered the children and wounded, some clothing and arms, to be put into the wagons." In speaking of the defensive condition of the camp, Lee says: "If the emigrants had had a good supply of ammunition they never would have surrendered, and I do not think we could have captured them without great loss, for they were brave men and very resolute and determined."

In speaking of the departure from the corral, Lee adds the following: "Just as the wagons were loaded, (Adjutant) Dan McFarland came riding into the corral and said that Major Higbee had ordered great haste to be made, for he was afraid that the Indians would return and renew the attack before he could get the emigrants to a place of safety. I hurried up the people and started the wagons off toward Cedar City." (That is, up the meadow toward the north.)

M'Murdy drove out of the corral followed by Knight. Lee took a position between the wagons. The women and larger children, in single file, followed the rear wagon. The men were not permitted to begin the line of march until the women were fifty yards from the corral when they too proceeded in single file, in which order the doomed emigrants moved up the valley.

Nephi Johnson, the young Indian interpreter, knew the program, and wanted to avoid any participation in the horrible affair. Under pretense of hunting his horse he went up on the east hillside, and walking along to a point where the hill bends to the northeast, took a position where he could view the entire field.

As soon as the male emigrants arrived at the point opposite the militia, the latter stepped forward and took positions on the right of the men, each emigrant being escorted by a member of the militia. The peculiar order of marching must have increased the suspicions of the emigrants, but any demonstration on their part would have been hopeless—merely hastened the final result.

As the middle of the procession reached the bend in the meadows, Higbee uttered the words: "Do your duty." The signal gun was fired and instantly the cracking of rifles served notice on those in the van that the work of death had begun. With blood-curdling yells the Indians rushed from the brush and cedars, and, with fiendish ferocity, struck down the women and children, while the militia shot down, and brained, the unarmed men. Within three minutes the last despairing cry was silenced, the last groan of mortal agony was hushed. The ground was strewn with the quivering bodies of those who, under the flag of peace, had committed themselves to the protection of a band of religious fanatics who had mercilessly and brutally betrayed their trust. Those men had certainly "kept alive the *spirit*" of the (Mormon) "reformation."

A portion of the Indians rushed on the wagons and aided in the slaughtering of the sick and wounded; only those "too young to tell tales" were permitted to live.

Only two special incidents of the massacre will be related. John D. Lee asserts that M'Murdy went to Knight's wagon where the latter was holding his frightened horses by the bits, and, raising his rifle to his shoulder, said: "O Lord, my God, receive their spirits, it is for thy kingdom that I do this." The gun exploded and two wounded men in the wagon were killed. One of M'Murdy's victims was resting his head on the breast of another man, and the same bullet killed both of them.

In the excitement and confusion of the massacre, two girls—sisters named Dunlap—aged respectively about fourteen and sixteen years, escaped to the hillside where they hid in the brush about fifty yards distant. Of that incident, Jacob Hamblin, who went over the ground a few days after the massacre, gave substantially the following account in his testimony during the trial of Lee. Hamblin's Indian boy, a lad of sixteen or seventeen years, guided the former to the spot where the girls were murdered. Hamblin avers that a chief from Cedar discovered the girls and dragged them from their hiding place. Lee was present and the Indian wanted to save them because they were "too pretty to be killed." Other Indians who were present told Hamblin that one of the girls dropped to her knees, and clasping her hands, said to Lee: "Please don't kill me, and I will love you all my life." Lee explained to the chief that the girls were beyond the age limit prescribed by Haight, and that they must die. Thereupon, Lee threw the girl down and cut her throat, while the chief dispatched the other girl in the same manner. Lee, in his "Confession," strenuously denies the atrocious deed, but Nephi Johnson testified that he saw Lee cut the woman's throat.

According to the testimony of Hamblin, he and his hired man, during the spring following the massacre, collected more than one hundred and twenty skulls, including skeletons, and, as it is inferred, buried them in the rifle pit dug by the emigrants. At a subsequent period Major Carleton of the U. S. Army erected a wood monument over the common grave, and inscribed thereon: "Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord." Some miscreant destroyed the monument, and there is now naught but an uneven mound of bowlders to mark the resting place of the victims of the Mountain Meadows massacre.

The uncolored story of the tragedy is finished. The Mormon people, as a people, were—are—blameless. So far as the survivors among those who participated in that unatoned crime are concerned, let Justice slumber. Not so, however, with the accursed doctrine of unquestioning obedience that impelled those mistaken men to stain their souls with murder—a doctrine tersely enunciated in the following from the present "prophet, seer and revelator" of the Mormon church:

"The fact of the matter is, when a man says, 'You may direct me spiritually, but not temporally,' he lies in the presence of God; that is, if he has got intelligence enough to know what he is talking about."—Excerpt from sermon of President Joseph F. Smith in Provo, "Deseret News," May 20th, 1896.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF JOHN DOYLE LEE

During the early '70's Lee was tried for his part in the Mountain Meadows massacre. The same evidence that, later on, was used against him was, of course, in existence, but every possible obstacle was thrown in the way of obtaining the right witnesses. The jury stood three for conviction, nine for acquittal. Then came the realization to the Mormon leaders that an offering must be made of at least one of those Mountain Meadows murderers in order to parry the just charge that the Mormon church was shielding them.

SCENE AT THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS JUST BEFORE THE EXECUTION OF JOHN D. LEE—LEE IS SITTING DOWN

Haight and Higbee escaped to Mexico and were in hiding. It is reported that Klingensmith hid himself among the Indians on the Colorado River in Arizona, opposite Eldorado Canyon. Those who assert that they saw him, say that he was as filthy and degraded as any of the "Lamanites." According to reports he died about six years ago.

Lee was tried and convicted during September, 1876, and was sentenced to be shot on the 23rd day of March, 1877.

The impelling force—motive—to the perpetration of crime is, by mortal ethics, presumed to be the chief factor in determining what is justice to criminals. John D. Lee was, at heart, not a murderer. Nor were the fifty-five white participants murderers under the common definition. They were devout Mormons and believed that they were obeying the instructions of the representatives of prophets, seers and revelators, who were in daily communion with the Creator of the Universe. Call them crazy fanatics, but not murderers in the generally accepted term. Let your anathemas fall on those who promulgated the damnable doctrine of unquestioning obedience and blood-atonement, and on those of the present-day "prophets" who enunciate, or endorse, the doctrine that a man "lies in the presence of God" because he declines to surrender his temporal rights along with his spiritual being.

At about 10 a. m. on March 23rd, 1877, Lee and his executioners arrived at the Meadows. Photographer James Fennemore of Beaver, Josiah Rogerson, a Mormon telegrapher, and a number of spectators were present.

Lee's coffin was produced and placed near the mound of stones which cover the remains of Fancher and his party.

A tent with five holes in the canvas was pitched within about twenty feet of the coffin. Standing near his final receptacle, Lee made a brief farewell speech in which he denied any intent to do wrong, and placed the blame where it justly belonged. He claimed, and rightly, too, that he had been betrayed—sacrificed in the interest of the church to which he had given his whole life. Continuing, Lee said:

"Still, there are thousands of people in this church that are honorable and good-hearted friends, and some of whom are near to my heart. There is a kind of living, magnetic influence which has come over the people, and I cannot compare it to anything else than the reptile that enamors his prey, till it captivates it, paralyzes it, and it rushes into the jaws of death. I cannot compare it to anything else. It is so, I know it, I am satisfied of it."

Lee's vision swept the scene of the former carnage. He looked out on the repulsive dyke from which had been poured the deadly missiles into the emigrant camp. Mortals will never know the thoughts that, with torrential confusion, leaped through the brain of the doomed man as he sat down on his coffin for the crucial ordeal. He asked that his arms be not pinioned. United States Marshal William Nelson then placed a handkerchief over Lee's eyes, and stepped to one side. Lee then clasped his hands over his head, and said to the marshal: "Let them shoot the balls through my heart! Don't let them mangle my body!" The marshal called: "Ready, aim, fire!" A sharp, simultaneous explosion and the victim of unquestioning obedience had paid the mortal demand for vengeance, had satisfied the doctrine of human justice!

Distasteful as it surely is, truth, equity and the public good demand a statement and analysis of the facts associated with the Mountain Meadows massacre.

That some of the men who were present at the massacre went because of fear of violence is proved by the unwilling testimony of Nephi Johnson, a witness at the second trial of Lee. The questions were by W. W. Bishop, counsel for Lee. After stating that he would not have gone to the Meadows if he could have helped it, Mr. Bishop asked: "State whether you were under any compulsion."

Ans.: "I didn't think it was safe for me to object."

Ques.: "Explain what you mean, that is what I want." Where was the danger—who was the danger to come from if you objected—from Haight or those around him—from the Indians, or from the emigrants?"

Ans.: "From the military officers."

Ques.: "Where?"

Ans.: "At Cedar City."

Ques.: "Was Haight one of those military officers?"

Ans.: "Yes, sir."

Ques.: "Who was the highest military officer in Cedar City at that time?"

Ans.: "I think it was Isaac C. Haight."

Ques.: "You thought it would not be safe to refuse; had you any reason to fear danger—has any person ever been injured for not obeying, or anything of that kind?"

Ans.: "I don't want to answer."

Ques.: "It is necessary to the safety of the man I am defending, and I therefore insist upon an answer. Had any person been injured for not obeying?"

Ans.: "*Yes, sir; they had.*"

It has been persistently claimed by the Mormon leaders that the Indians, aroused by the alleged poisoning of three or four of their number at Corn Creek, destroyed the emigrants as an act of revenge. John D. Lee asserts that Carl Shirts, Nephi Johnson and Oscar Hamblin collected the Indians and conducted them to the Meadows. In support of Lee's statement, the reader is referred to the testimony of Jacob Hamblin heretofore quoted. The Corn Creek, or Pahvant Indians, were the ones who had any grievance to adjust with the emigrants. And there is not the slightest evidence that any of them were on the ground. In support of that assertion, two paragraphs will be quoted from the testimony of Nephi Johnson, which are as follows:

Ques. by Howard: "Were you acquainted with the Indians—the Pah Vant Indians?"

Ans.: "Yes, sir; somewhat acquainted. . . . "

Ques.: "Were any of the Pah Vant Indians down there?"

Ans.: "I didn't see any."

The alleged poisoned meat given to the Pahvants was certainly from an animal that had died from some disease. The emigrants would not, surely, have killed an animal for the express purpose of poisoning a few of the redskins. And it is a well-known fact that the Western Indians are in the habit of eating meat from animals which die from some disorder. And there is hardly a doubt that that was what ailed the Corn Creek reds, and that the Indians were aware that that was the cause of their sickness. There are no springs near Corn Creek except a few near the slough to the north. The emigrants were camped on the creek, and so were the Indians. The charge that the emigrants poisoned the water is the sheerest nonsense. The other charge that they boasted of having helped "kill old Joe Smith" etc., is equally inconsistent. The emigrants knew that an army was on the way to Utah. And that, as Gentiles, they were in the enemies' country, and absolutely within the power of the Mormons. And under those circumstances, no one, other than a lunatic, would have said or done anything to add to the widespread excitement. Those emigrants are entitled to the credit of having had at least ordinary sense.

Except in so far as his promulgation of the doctrine of unquestioning obedience, and its twin sister, the doctrine of blood-atonement, are evidences of responsibility, President Young was guiltless, before the fact, of any part in the Mountain Meadows massacre.

As before stated, an army was en route to Utah. And Brigham Young was too far-seeing to add to the offenses which were the cause of the advancing troops. In his letter to Dame, already quoted, President Young advised that "not a drop of blood be shed if it can be avoided," and that that course "will give us great influence abroad." At the same time, he conferred on Dame and "Brother Isaac C. Haight" the sole authority to issue "permits" to pass through that section of country. And, in order to enforce those instructions, violence would have been necessary in all cases where objections were raised to the right of Dame to prevent an American citizen from peacefully traveling over Uncle Sam's domain. The authority given Dame to issue "permits" was supplemented by the injunction to "keep alive the spirit of reformation," which, in reality, was the spirit of blood-atonement, and which was sufficient to inspire Dame and Haight to the perpetration of crime.

If Laban Morrill knew that the fate of the emigrants depended on the instructions President Young would send back by James Haslam, Dame also knew it. While Haight was the ecclesiastical chief of Iron county, Dame was the military comamnder and, as such was responsible for the movements of the militia. Dame knew that Haslam had gone to Salt Lake, and he knew the contents of the message that was speeding along as fast as a relay of horses could carry it. And it is well known that the tragedy was enacted forty-eight hours before Haslam returned with instructions from President Young to permit the emigrants to pursue their journey unmolested. And every one of those leading participants knew that if the Indians could be restrained while waiting for word from Haight, that they could be easily restrained while waiting for word from their revered Prophet in Salt Lake City.

But was Brigham Young a party, after the fact, to the massacre? Unprejudiced men and women will render their verdicts on the evidence.

John D. Lee asserts that a short time after the massacre he went to Salt Lake City and laid the facts before President Young. In his affidavit introduced in the second trial of Lee, President Young conceded that "within two or three months after the massacre," Lee visited his office and "commenced giving an account of the massacre," and that he, Young, stopped him and said, "From what I had already heard by rumor, I did not wish my feelings harrowed up with a recital of detail."

In corroboration of Lee's statement that President Young had early and complete information of the details of the tragedy, a few more paragraphs from the sworn testimony of Jacob Hamblin will be given:

Question by Bishop: "Have you ever given a report of it (the massacre) to any of your superiors in the church, or officers over you?"

Ans.: "Well, I did speak of it to President Young and George A. Smith."

Ques.: "Did you give them the whole facts?"

Ans.: "I gave them more than I have here, because I recollected more of it."

Ques. "When did you do that?"

Ans.: "Pretty soon after it happened."

Ques.: "You are certain you gave it fuller than you have told it here on the stand?"

Ans.: "I told them everything I could."

After conceding that he had kept the details of the massacre carefully concealed from all but President Young and George A. Smith during all those years, in obedience to the injunction of the former, Hamblin stated that he thought the time had now come to tell the truth. In answer to the question by Bishop: "Have you told it all?" Hamblin answered: "No, sir, I have not." Again: "Then tell it?" Hamblin replied: "I will not undertake that now. I would not like to undertake it." Hamblin was away from his ranch at the time of the massacre and had no hand in the tragedy; but, like every witness, he declined to tell the "whole truth."

In defiance of what he knew of the massacre, and he knew it all, President Young, on January 6th, 1858, wrote James W. Denver, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Washington, D. C., as follows:

"Sir: On or about the middle of last September a company of emigrants traveling the southern route to California, poisoned the meat of an ox that died, and gave it to the Indians to eat, causing the immediate death of four of their tribe, and poisoning several others. This company also poisoned the water where they were encamped. This occurred at Corn Creek, fifteen miles from Fillmore City. This conduct so enraged the Indians that they took measures for revenge."

Then follows a quotation from a letter, written by John D. Lee at the request of Brigham Young for the express purpose of shielding the whites who were mixed up in the affair. Even if the letter from Lee was not suggested by President Young, he knew from the statement of Jacob Hamblin that Lee's letter was false from start to finish.

JOHN D. LEE AFTER EXECUTION

CHAPTER XXVI

THE "MORRISITE REBELLION"—COMPETITION AMONG PROPHETS —KILLING OF MORRIS AND BANKS

The feeling of nearness to God that the revelations from the Lord to the Mormon Prophet engendered among the Saints, produced an abundant crop of minor prophets in Nauvoo immediately after the death of Joseph. Between each Saint and the Almighty there is but one man, and he is chief "prophet, seer and revelator" of the church. Each male Saint is entitled to receive revelations for himself, but not for the guidance of the church.

During his incumbency of the office of chief prophet, Brigham Young received but two revelations that were published. With singular astuteness, for a Mormon prophet, President Young placed more reliance on the guidance of his own active brains than on the indefinite, intangible, and uncertain "impressions" on one's mind, called revelations.

While that policy relieved Brigham from the embarrassment of explaining why revelations were not fulfilled, there were some of the Saints then, as there are thousands today, who tired of voting for "prophets, seers and revelators," from twice to six times each year without receiving any supernatural dividends on their large investment of faith.

Among the discontented ones was Joseph Morris, an intensely devoted Welsh Saint.

During the spring of 1862, Morris tired of the monotony of receiving revelations for himself, and unwisely encroached on the divine prerogative of Brigham Young.

It was rumored that Morris's first attempt to induce Brigham to recognize the legality of his right to receive revelations for the church met with such emphatic rejection that he concluded to start a church of his own.

Morris went to a small branch of Brigham's church, situated on the Weber River some thirty-five miles north of Salt Lake

City. Morris soon convinced the bishop and nearly all his flock of the divinity of his, Morris', mission. His ability as a "revelator" was such that, occasionally, it required three men to record the revelations. Morris claimed that he was a reincarnated prophet of ancient Israel. Within a short time Morris convinced John Banks, a Mormon preacher of unusual ability, that his revelations bore the stamp of divine approval, and Banks soon became first counselor to the reincarnated prophet. Imposing robes, according to the alleged heavenly pattern, were made, and worn by the prophet and his aids on all public occasions. Morris predicted the speedy advent of the Saviour—even to the naming of the precise date of His arrival. That definite prediction clearly proved two things: First, the unquestioned sincerity of Morris; second, that he lacked the discretion of the true modern prophet in that he left no loop-hole by which he could escape the consequences of non-fulfillment. He should have left his "margin somewhat wider." That prediction proved the undoing of Morris.

Owing to the nearness of the advent of the Saviour, property lost its market value with the Morrisites. A timely revelation induced the Saints to consecrate all their worldly goods to the Lord, and it became the common property of the church.

As the date for the arrival of the Saviour drew near, the Morrisites ceased all unnecessary labor, and devoted their time to public worship. Solemn parades, led by the chief prophets in their priestly robes, and the rank and file in white robes and gowns, became daily features of their worship. The all-important day arrived, and the people prepared to greet the Son of Man. The mantle of night descended on a bitterly disappointed people.

Whether or not Joseph Morris laid the failure of his prophecy to the lack of faith on the part of his people, as did the founder of Mormonism when Zion's camp collapsed, is immaterial. By some means he retained the confidence of the larger part of his followers.

There were a few who had the good sense to apostatize. But Morris refused to return their property. As an act of reprisal, two of the apostates captured a load of Morrisite wheat on its way to the mill. The Morrisites captured the apostates and held them prisoners. Chief Justice John F. Kinney issued a writ for the release of the prisoners, which was treated with contempt by Morris. A requisition was made on Governor John W. Dawson for the use of the militia to aid the marshal in serving the writ.

General Robert T. Burton, a prominent Mormon, and subsequently bishop of the 15th ecclesiastical ward, Salt Lake City, commanded the posse.

On the morning of June 13th, Burton and his troops arrived on the brow of the high bench to the south of, and over-looking, the Morrisite Zion. A messenger was dispatched to Morris with an order for the prisoners, or the alternative of surrender within thirty minutes. The propositions were declined.

Morris had collected his Saints in the log school-house where they were holding solemn service, waiting for the deliverance that, according to their prophet, would surely come.

A six-pound cannon was trained on the building containing the fanatics. Thirty minutes expired when a cannon ball sped over the intervening space and crashed into the building, wounding a fifteen-year-old girl on the chin. In the following bombardment two women were killed. The Saints scattered to their cellars and rifle-pits and endured the intermittent fire of Burton's command during three days. At the end of that time, the Morrisites' ammunition was exhausted and they hoisted the white flag.

A stipulation was that the Morrisites should stack their arms on the square near the school-house, which was done. Reports of subsequent events are conflicting. And for that reason the one most favorable to Burton and his staff will be given.

The Morrisites were gathered near the school-house waiting to see the "salvation of the Lord," which they fully expected. Burton, his staff and a few of the cavalry, rode down into the village and took their position near the assembled Saints, including some friendly women. Morris' frenzied cry: "Follow me, and see the salvation of the Lord," was the signal for a rush for the stacked arms. Burton and his staff spurred their horses into the rushing crowd and when the smoke cleared away Joseph Morris was dead—a martyr to his faith; Banks was mortally wounded. A woman was also killed, said to have been shot by Burton because she upbraided him for shooting Morris, but which is almost incredible. Banks died the ensuing evening.

Within a couple of days the remains of Morris and Banks were taken to Salt Lake City and placed on exhibition in the City Hall, now jointly occupied by the police and fire departments.

The male Morrisite Saints were marched into Salt Lake City, and were about the most forlorn, mud-bespattered procession that ever tramped the earth—the wretched victims of maximum faith and minimum brains.

The ranks of the Morrisites were largely recruited from the Scandinavian Saints. In their own country they were humble peasants. The elders of Israel went among them and described the beauties of Mormonism. They pictured the glory of Zion, and told them the Mormon prophets were in continual communication with Jehovah; how, as it were, the trembling ether between the earth and Kolob was kept hot by wireless interplanetary messages between Brigham and the Almighty. Revelation-hungry, they arrived in Zion to find that revelations had ceased in the church; that between the earth and Kolob the temperature of the ether was at least one thousand degrees below zero; that the semi-annual stunt of sustaining Brigham, Heber, Jedediah and the others as "prophets, seers, and revelators," was a solemn parody, and they joyfully turned to Joseph Morris for direct heavenly instructions, and who, had he lived, would no doubt have left the original Mormon prophet at the pole in the matter of inspired fecundity.

The Morrisites, like the rank and file of the Latter-day Saints, were the victims of unquestioning, unreasoning credulity—the fault was in their religion, not in themselves.

No Mormon tear was shed over the bier of the martyred prophet of the Morrisites. There was no eloquent writer, like Elder B. H. Roberts, to "impeach" Utah "before the bar of Nineteenth-century Civilization" for the massacre of the Saints at Kington on the bank of the Weber. There was no Morrisite logician, like Elder Roberts, to point out in after years, that "upon each side of the general purposes of God, a margin somewhat wide seems to have been left," etc. There has not yet risen a Morrisite apologist and explainer of the numerous reasons for the non-fulfillment of Joseph Morris' revelations as there have been thousands of apologists for the non-fulfillment of the predictions of Joseph Smith. Elder Roberts could, with equal consistency, use a lot of "ifs" and "had-there-beens" in defense of the Morrisite prophet's predictions that he so eloquently used in defense of the Mormon prophet, and the same argument can be used in defense of Joseph Morris that is used in defense of Joseph Smith: that, "in the years to come, the Lord will open the way to the fulfillment of his revelations." At least, there is no one that can successfully combat the unanswerable hypothesis that the Lord will not so "open the way."

CHAPTER XXVII

WHISKEY—ITS MANUFACTURE AND CONSUMPTION BY THE SAINTS —DRIVELLING HYPOCRISY

The usefulness of any organization that assumes the mission of special up-lifter of the human family, can be accurately gauged by the moral status of its members, and especially of its leaders. If those leaders lie, even by indirection, for the purpose of strengthening their special claims, whether for purposes of offense or defense, the evidence of such lying should be sufficient to destroy confidence in the validity of their claims, special or general.

Under the above simple rule, a chapter will be devoted to the subject of whiskey in its relation to the morals of the Mormon leaders and Saints during the early years of their occupancy of Utah.

The only bearing that the discussion of the manufacture of whiskey, the traffic therein and its consumption during the early years of Utah's history has on the subject matter of the closing chapters of this compendium of facts, is to prove that a large per cent. of the Mormon prophets never hesitate to lie whenever a point is to be gained or damaging charges are to be parried.

The frenzied and fanatical mouthings of Brigham, Heber and Jedediah on the subject of wickedness, even total depravity of the Gentiles, and a few "miserable curses" of Mormons, have been partially quoted in Chapter XXIV. The pith of those sermons was that, had it not been for the presence of the "cursed outsiders," as the Gentiles were usually called, the "insiders" would have been saints instead of "miserable curses."

The chief sins with which those early-day prophets charged the Gentiles were those of running and patronizing saloons, gambling and general cussedness. In fact, all the immorality and other vices that existed in the Utah Zion were charged, as before stated, to the presence of the Gentiles.

And after the lapse of fifty years, during which the facts were easily obtainable, and often in defiance of their memories, Mormon pulpiteers, and thousands of missionaries throughout the world, are repeating the same stale falsehoods. Nearly all of the missionaries are young men, unacquainted with early church history, and, parrot-like, merely repeat the subject-matter of the Mormon text-books, which they take with them into the field. And, by way of parenthesis, it is but justice to say that those young Mormons are, as a rule, honest, upright and sincere. The social forces, begotten of their religion, force them into the world as missionaries, and compel them to remain until recalled, or suffer the penalty of forever wearing the degrading and ineffaceable brand of "apostate" in the villages, towns and cities in which they were born and reared.

In the final analysis, and as the chief factor in the verdict which the reader will doubtless render, it should be borne in mind that from the day of their arrival in the great basin down to the present year, 1909, the Mormon church has been in absolute control of the legislature of Utah. There has not been a time during the period just named that the Mormon leaders could not have prohibited the manufacture, importation and disposal of intoxicants. All that was necessary on the part of the Mormon leaders to enforce prohibition was to request the presidents of the various stakes of Zion to see to it that only such men as would vote for prohibition were sent to the legislature from the counties under their ecclesiastical and political jurisdiction. During forty years the Mormon prophets absolutely controlled the city council and police force of Salt Lake. And, whatever vice and crime arose from the sale and consumption of intoxicants during the period under discussion, is justly chargeable to the Mormon leaders.

Instead, however, of bringing their unappealable dictum to bear on the side of temperance and decent morals, the Prophet Brigham became a distiller of whiskey and other intoxicants, and high priests were the wholesale and retail distributors.

The evidence in support of the foregoing allegations is clipped from data compiled from the city records by gentlemen living in Salt Lake City, and used by them in public speeches. One of the gentlemen is known in every city, town and hamlet in Utah.

The other is a prominent attorney and resident in Salt Lake City. Each is a man of unquestioned probity. And the fact that the accuracy of their quotations from the city records has never been questioned by the Mormon press or speakers, is abundant testimony of the truth of their statements.

On July 2, 1861, the special committee, to whom was referred the subject of the manufacture and sale of liquor, presented a report reading as follows:

"To the Honorable Mayor of Salt Lake City:—

"Your committee, to whom was referred the subject of the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquor, would report that they visited several distilleries in and near the city and would respectfully recommend that the City Council purchase or rent the distillery erected by Brigham Young near the Mouth of Parley's canyon, and put the same in immediate operation, employing such persons as shall be deemed necessary to manufacture a sufficient quantity to answer the public demand; controlling the sale of the same, and that the profits accruing therefrom be paid into the City Treasury.

(Signed) "ALDERMAN CLINTON,
"ALDERMAN SHEETS,
"COUNCILMAN FELT."

That "councilman" Nathaniel H. Felt, a high priest and prominent member of the Mormon church, had a saintly pull with the "City Fathers" is proved by the following:

Another committee reported on November 26, 1861. It was the special committee to whom was referred the subject of selecting a suitable place for the sale of spirituous liquor to be manufactured and sold by the city, and to find a person competent to dispose of the same, or, in other words, a city bar-keeper, and fix on such a price as would compensate its manufacture and place it within reach of the public. The committee said:

"That the location occupied by N. H. Felt is suitable; that the liquor be sold at $2.50 per gallon; that, while the liquor be sold exclusively by your agent, that you connect therewith a commission business for the sale and exchange of all home-manufactured articles."

Although every man in the city council was a Saint, they attempted to rob the United States Government of its tax on whiskey. O. H. Hollister, Government revenue collector for the inter-mountain district, sued Salt Lake City for $30,000, and succeeded in collecting $12,051.76, as a compromise settlement on the distillation of "moonshine" by the Mormon high priests, and in a distillery owned by an alleged prophet of the Lord.

"But," says the carping Saint, "the quotations you make are of acts years after the sermons to which you refer."

Very well, let us go back to the early fifties before the morals of the Saints were contaminated by the "accursed Gentiles."

On January 11, 1851, the City Council was organized and began business. About the first of its business consisted in appointing Jeter Clinton, an alderman, quarantine physician with authority to take charge of all spirituous liquor that might come into the country and dispose of it for medicinal purposes, and that is the item that good Mormons will quote as evidence that the Saints were voluntarily temperate before the advent of the Gentiles.

In 1852, the city owned a brewery, and Jeter Clinton—still city physician, was so shocked by the "profanity and gambling" among the Mormon employees that he reported it to the council.

Later on, July 1, 1853, the good Jeter Clinton secured a license to sell liquor at his residence, and for which he paid less than one dollar per week. On the same day, nine other petitions for liquor licenses were received by the city council.

On December 16, 1853, Jeter Clinton's home-dive became so tough that the council revoked his license because of "disorderly conduct of the house." But Clinton, as an alderman, had a strong pull, for, on July 29, 1854, he was granted a license to sell liquor in the Thirteenth, ecclesiastical, ward of Salt Lake City.

On December 29, 1854, P. K. Dobson, another good Saint, asked permission to continue running his distillery.

On July 29, 1854, John Mellon, another good Saint, asked for a renewal of his saloon license. Mellon had been guilty of selling liquor to children, and his license was revoked until he made "satisfaction to the city council." In those days, "making satisfaction" generally consisted of going before the Saints assembled in the capacity of ward meetings, and asking forgiveness, and there is little doubt that Brother Mellon took that course, for, on August 12th, he secured permission to continue his business of making drunkards of the "Saints of the Most High," and that, too, under the quasi benediction of the prophets of the "only true church of Christ on earth!"

During the years 1851 to 1857, the Prophet Brigham was Governor of Utah. And under the authority of the territorial legislature, Governor Young was the sole supervisor of the whiskey business in Utah.

In the winter of 1866 and 1867, Elder Francis M. Lyman sold whiskey in Fillmore to youths and adults. Elder Lyman is now an apostle in the Mormon church, and if he lives and don't apostatize, will be the next president of the church.

The history of the manufacture of, and traffic in, spirituous and fermented liquors as disclosed by the Mormon City Council's records, has been hardly trenched upon, but sufficient has been quoted to prove the contention outlined in the beginning of this chapter. In concluding this subject, copies of two accounts, taken from the city books, will be given.

Following is the city's account with the trustee-in-trust (Brigham Young), of the Mormon church during the year 1868 at a time when the chief vendor of whiskey was the city whose councilmen were exclusively Saints:

Dr.

March 21, balance	$4,196.42
March 28, bathing	5.00
April 24, bathing	5.00
May 9, bathing	10.00
May 9, liquor	3.25
June 10, liquor	2.00
July 9, bathing	5.00
July 15, bathing	10.10
July 15, liquor	8.00
August 1, bathing	10.00
August 17, liquor	5.50

Dr. (Continued)

September 15, liquor	$ 13.00
September 21, liquor	39.25
October 12, J. E. Taylor	18.00
October 31, liquor	41.75
November 2, J. E. Taylor	18.00
November 18, liquor	4.00
December 5, bathing	5.00
December 9, liquor	11.50
Total	$4,404.07

Cr.

December 31, sundries	$ 579.00
December 31, balance	3,825.07
Total	$4,404.07

The credit item for "sundries" is journalized as follows:

William Hyde, tithing	$ 100.00
Harry Arnold, tithing	135.00
A. Bent, tithing	120.00
F. F. Harvey, tithing	50.00
C. Livingston, tithing	84.00
A. Denny, tithing	100.00
Total	$589.00

Brigham's account suggests the usual list of supplies for a fishing expedition.

The "Deseret News," the Saintly Ananias of all newspaperdom, is charged on the city books $189.46 for "liquor."

That the Saints comprising the city council had a hilarious time in celebrating the advent of the Union Pacific railroad in 1869, is proved by the following items under date of May 24th:

To liquor on account of railroad celebration	$ 81.00
To cigars on account of railroad celebration	25.00
To sundries on account of railroad celebration	235.00

An itemized account of the "sundries" in the item of $235.00 would no doubt prove interesting.

Seven months after the first celebration, or on January 1, 1870, the city council Saints held another railroad celebration as the following entry clearly proves:

> To liquor for railroad celebration: one gallon port wine at $10.00 per gallon; eleven gallons of sherry at $8.00 per gallon....$98.00

Nor have the more modern prophets lost all interest in the whiskey traffic. The Z. C. M. I. drug department of the great institution over which the present chief prophet presides, sells twenty-five barrels of liquor each week.

Apostle-Senator Reed Smoot has, as one of his choice temporal assets, a drug store at Provo City, his home town, that is doing a first-class whiskey business in front and back of the prescription case.

Excepting Springville, which, no thanks to the prophets, is a strictly prohibition town, there is hardly a settlement containing five hundred residents in Utah, that has not a saloon within its boundaries; and those towns containing one thousand inhabitants, usually have from two to four saloons.

And after sixty years of criminal indifference regarding the morals of their followers, Prophet Joseph F. Smith has, by the ungodly Gentiles from the East, been compelled to sit up and take notice that a reform wave is about to pour over the Rocky Mountains and aid those who decline to help themselves.

It is not intended that the reader shall gain the impression that all the apostles and leading elders of the Mormon church are indifferent to the moral needs of the Latter-day Saints. There are men among them who are devoted to the large amount of good there is in Mormonism—men who are as true to the principles of righteousness, as they understand it—as "the needle is true to the pole." But they have not the right of initiative in anything. They are compelled to await the action of the chief prophet, no matter how insane he may be. The fault is found in their religion which imposes on all its members the emasculating doctrine of unquestioning submission.

CHAPTER XXVIII

TREASON

In his frequently-expressed hope of "success to both parties," the slave-owners and abolitionists, Prophet Jedediah M. Grant but voiced the sentiments of the other prophets and the greater portion of the Saints. Doubtless they were sincere in their treasonable utterances. In previous chapters it has been proved by the alleged revelations of the Lord to the Prophet Joseph Smith, by his predictions, and by the writings and sermons of the lesser Mormon prophets, that the church and kingdom of God, as founded by the first prophet, is a distinct religious and political government. In brief, it is the Mormon kingdom of God against the United States first, and then against all the other governments on earth—each of them being in "direct rebellion" against the Mormon "government of God on earth."

The Civil war had been predicted by the first Mormon prophet, and the Saints eagerly looked forward to its fulfillment. They were looking, and are still looking, forward to the time when the Government of the United States will be overthrown, when the Saints will rush in and rear aloft the Constitution, with Mormon appendages, to the end that "Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." (Joseph Smith's "revelation" on the "rebellion of South Carolina," etc., was but the echo of the sentiment of the American people that was fast crystallizing into the firm conviction that the social and political questions then dividing the North and South could not be settled except by an appeal to arms.)

When the rumblings of the approaching civil upheaval reached the ears of the Saints in Utah, it filled them with joy unspeakable. The secession of South Carolina was a direct fulfillment of prophecy. The faint roar of Southern guns, trained on Fort Sumter, was as celestial music to the ears of the Saints of God. They remembered that the Republican party had achieved power on a platform containing two principal planks—the abolition of slavery and the extermination of Mormon polygamy, the "twin relics of barbarism." Then and there the large foreign element of Utah became "democratic" to the core. There were no vocal regrets or sympathy for the stricken nation. And as the Saints calmly looked on the death struggle, they distinctly remembered the inspired words of Jedediah M. Grant, and fervent "amens" were uttered to the prophet's "success to both parties." The sooner the end came the quicker would be the political ascendency of the kingdom of God for which the Saints were devoutly praying.

Finally, when the news was flashed from Washington that the great heart of Lincoln had been stilled by the bullet of an assassin, a profound hush seemed to fall on the Mormon people. In subdued tones they almost whispered to each other. " 'Tis the judgment of God on Abraham Lincoln. Had he lived he would have tried to fulfill his party's pledge to destroy polygamy. The Almighty has removed him—'praise be to the Lord, God of Israel.' "

Mormon prophets and lickspittling Gentile-apologists for them, deny the existence of Mormon treason during the Civil war. In reply to such denials the prophets and their apologists are challenged to produce from the voluminous sermons and writings of the Mormon leaders during those years of the nation's travail, even one paragraph that breathed either patriotism or sympathy for the Government of the United States.

The very essence and spirit of the Mormon religion—its aims and objects, are such that it is impossible for any absolutely devout Mormon to be loyal to any government other than that of the government of God on the earth. It is the fault of his religion. Any Mormon who admits, even to himself, that he owes a higher allegiance to the Government of the United States than to the Mormon church, is an apostate at heart. And there are thousands of them in Utah. But their lips are sealed by the despotic power of the Mormon prophets who, in a hundred ways, and through secret channels, would not hesitate to ruin their characters, and crush them politically and financially.

CHAPTER XXIX

HARD SLEDDING FOR UTAH POLYGAMY—THE "UNDERGROUND"—THREE ALTERNATIVES—AMUSING INCIDENTS

With Eastern civilization behind them, the Saints cast aside their disguise of falsehoods relative to the practice of polygamy in Nauvoo. The doctrine was openly taught and as openly practised.

As soon as practicable after the arrival of the Saints in Salt Lake valley, the Endowment House, pending the building of the temple, was erected in the northwest corner of the ten-acre temple block. During the existence of the Endowment House thousands of plural marriages were performed. Many of those plural marriages were no doubt performed without a knowledge of the officiating priest. The male Saint who contemplated marriage would apply to the bishop of his ward and secure a "recommend." The recommend would then be endorsed by the president of the Stake of Zion. The bishop and stake president knew whether or not it was to be a plural or single marriage, but as all recommends were alike the officiating priest, unless he were acquainted with the male celebrant's matrimonial status, knew not whether he were performing a single or plural marriage.

Subsequently, the temple at Saint George, situated in the semi-tropical valley of the Virgin River in southern Utah, became the Mecca toward which the single and married swains of Utah turned their equally eager faces. The completion of the Manti and Logan temples added to the marital conveniences of the Saints of middle and northern Utah.

Occasionally, when the inclinations of the parties were exceptionally pressing, and where the Endowment House was far-distant, plural marriages were celebrated almost anywhere. While crossing the plains in 1848, Apostle Parley P. Pratt invaded the prerogative of President Young, and married Apostle John Taylor to Harriet and Sophia Whittaker. Those women entered Apostle Taylor's harem as number 13 and 14. The desire to add additional marital assets to their celestial kingdom seemed to be equally pressing on the part of Apostle Parley and Apostle John, for the latter married the former to a lady who was traveling in the same wagon train.

"As there is but one man at a time on the earth who holds the keys to the sealing power in Celestial Marriage, when that one declines to exercise the authority vested in him, there is no way to obtain the privileges of the law that governs the matter. The revelation is very plain concerning it, as all may see from 'Doctrine and Covenants,' section one hundred and thirty-two."

The above quotation from the "Deseret News" will serve two purposes: First, to show that Apostles Taylor and Pratt, in taking plural wives without consulting President Young, and by each performing the marriage ceremony for the other without authority from him, had invaded the plain terms of Joseph Smith's revelation on polygamy, which specifically states that the chief prophet of the church alone, has the authority, under God, to perform plural marriages, or to authorize some one to act in his place. And during his lifetime, President Young endeavored to apply order and system to the carrying out of the doctrine of plural marriage, and to prevent, so far as possible, its practice from degenerating into licentiousness by permitting Tom, Dick and Harry to perform the ceremony of celestial marriage. Second, that the reader may keep in mind the foregoing rule to the end, that, later on, it may be intelligently applied to the "system" of plural marriages under the domination of President Joseph F. Smith.

During the years prior to 1862, when the Edmunds anti-polygamy bill became a law, there was no statute, federal or territorial, that barred the practice of polygamy. There were state laws against bigamy, but Utah had ignored that offense because polpgamy and bigamy were synoymous terms under the State laws. The Mormons, however, claim that there is a vast difference; that bigamy is practised secretly and without the consent of the first wife, that it is a matter of lust and deception. While, on the other hand, the Mormons claim that modern polygamy is merely a revival of the old Israelitish law, sanctioned by the Lord in those early years, and resanctioned by special revelation in these latter days, and that it is a part of their religion. With bigamy thus transfigured, the Saints claimed that any laws passed by Congress in opposition to the practice of polygamy would be an "invasion of their religious rights," and therefore a plain violation of the Federal Constitution.

Such were the unique conditions that confronted every Federal judge in Utah from Perry E. Brocchus down to January 6, 1879, when the United States Supreme Court declared the existing laws against polygamy to be constitutional.

In the absence of special laws on the subject of polygamy, the first Federal judges endeavored to apply the "common" or "English," law as Jedediah M. Grant called it in his notorious speech from which quotations have been made. But between the judges and polygamy there was ever the grim personality of Brigham, and behind him was the atrocious doctrine of "blood-atonement."

One incident in which the practice of polygamy is alleged to have played an important part, is well worthy of special notice.

The reports of the events that led up to the incident, and the details of the incident itself, are somewhat mixed as between Gentile and Mormon statements regarding the affair. It appears, however, that Judge Brocchus had been commissioned by the Washington Monument Association to accept a block of stone from the people of Utah to be used in building the monument. At the fall conference of the church, held September 7th and 8th, 1851, Judge Brocchus, in a two hours' speech, set forth the reasons for building the monument. He referred to the purity and grandeur of Washington's life and public career, and no doubt suggested that in virtue and patriotism the Mormons, as well as all other people, would do well to imitate the lofty example left by the Father of his Country. The Gentiles who were present during Judge Brocchus's speech, aver that no reference to Mormon morals was made—that his remarks were general, not personal or local.

The Mormons assert that the judge used the following words: "I have a commission from the Washington Monument Association, to ask of you a block of marble, as a test of your citizenship and loyalty to the Government of the United States. But in order to do it acceptably, you must become virtuous, and teach your daughters to become virtuous, or your offering had better remain in the bosom of its native mountain."

From his uninspired view-point of morals, and by virtue of his position as judge, representing, as he did, the laws and sentiments of his country, Judge Brocchus had a right to use the language credited to him. But it is hardly credible that he indulged in such plain talk. He knew the power of Brigham Young and the danger of his environment. If he was correctly quoted, no matter what the equities of the case from his view-point, he was courageous even to the point of fool-hardiness, and did not deserve the term "coward" that Brigham hurled at him.

That President Young was angry, even to the point of vehemence, is clearly indicated by the following: "But you, standing there, white and shaking now at the howls you have stirred up yourself—you are a coward." The indignant Prophet concluded as follows:

"What you have been afraid to intimate about our morals I will not stoop to notice, except to make my particular personal request to every brother and husband present not to give back what such impudence deserves. You talk of things 'you have on hearsay' since your coming among us. I'll talk of hearsay then —the hearsay that you are discontented, and will go home, because we cannot make it worth your while to stay. What it would satisfy you to get out of us, I think it would be hard to tell; but I am sure that it is more than you'll get. If you or any one else is such a baby-calf, we must sugar your soap to coax you to wash yourself Saturday nights. Go home to your mammy straight away, and the sooner the better."

Such was the beginning of Federal authority in Utah, which continued almost without exception during the years prior to the advent of Johnston's army. It is, however, but justice to add that some of those officials were a disgrace to American manhood.

The decision of the Supreme Court in 1879, affirming the constitutionality of the laws against polygamy, was met by derision and open defiance by the Mormon press and speakers. The "Deseret News"—the mouthpiece of the prophets—contained an exhaustive "review" of the Supreme Court's decision and, in effect, declared the verdict of the court of last resort to be unconstitutional.

The Saints regarded the "News" editorial as being a license to further openly defy the power of the United States to interfere with the practice of their pet doctrine.

President John Taylor had succeeded President Young, who died August 29th, 1877.

President Taylor not only continued the policy of open defiance to the laws against polygamy, but announced the policy that no one but polygamists could hope for advancement in the church. In subsequent years, when the Government was getting the "top" position in the struggle for the supremacy of the law in Utah, John Sharp, an eminent financier and churchman, was relieved of his position as bishop of the eighteenth ecclesiastical ward because he "agreed to obey the law" against polygamy. Truman O. Angel was "released" from the position of church architect for the same reason. And scores of theretofore monogamist Saints hastened to secure seats in the polygamous band-wagon lest they lose their official positions in the church.

In the meantime the non-Mormon element had been increasing in Utah, and had become an important aid to the Federal officials who were energetic in their efforts to bring offenders to justice.

As further aid in compelling obedience to the law, the Edmunds law of 1882 was passed by Congress. That law established a commission under which Utah was governed until 1896. It also disfranchised all polygamous Mormons and provided an "iron-clad" oath for the Saints. The Edmunds law only served to increase the sullen defiance of the entire Mormon people.

The Government found it necessary to enact even more drastic provisions. In 1887 the Edmunds-Tucker bill became a law. Under its provisions the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was disincorporated and all its property, except places of worship, was escheated to the Government. Woman's suffrage was also abolished.

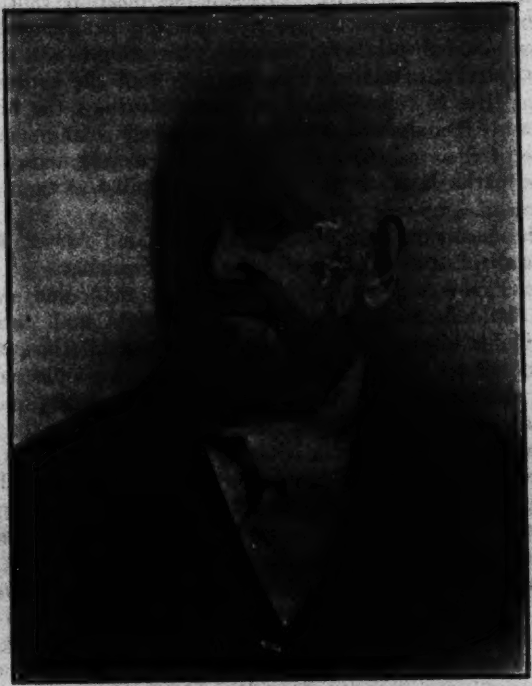
Like the Morrisites, the Saints were daily looking for the deliverance of the Lord. They were, however, logical in their reasoning. They took the unassailable position that, as the Almighty had revealed the celestial law of plural marriage, and had commanded obedience thereto, He would not permit a measly fraction of mortals like the people of the United States to force Him to repeal it. The Saints also took the high Missouri and Illinois ground that they were being persecuted because of their religion, and that it was merely a test of their loyalty to the laws of God instead of loyalty to their earthly government.

In the meantime President Taylor died, and Apostle Wilford W. Woodruff succeeded to the church Presidency.

John Taylor was an exceptionally able man, and well educated. Mild in his government of the Saints, and "approachable" in his intercourse with them. And of all the presidents he alone had sufficient consideration for his people to render annual statements of the receipts and disbursements of tithing.

In every sense of the word President Woodruff was the "grand old man" of his church. Scrupulously honest and sincere, modest before men, and humble before his God, Wilford Woodruff approached nearer to the idealistic Saint than even his predecessor, John Taylor, and was far and away ahead and above his immediate associates during his brief government of the Church. So far as the letter and spirit of his religion would permit, President Woodruff was loyal to his country, to its flag and to its institutions.. Although, when it came to a question of final allegiance he was with his church. So far as his religion would permit he was not a fanatic. At the time of his election to the leadership, President Woodruff was close to eighty years old, a time of life when nature impels one to lean on younger and stronger men. The seeming defects of character that may be disclosed in the following pages must be charged to those upon whom he was induced to rely for counsel during the stormy years of his rôle of chief prophet.

The character of President Woodruff has been thus minutely



WILFORD W. WOODRUFF

delineated in advance of his participation in the stirring events to be narrated, to the end that he may be relieved from censure for the infamous deception that was practised on the people of the United States, and for broken pledges that should forever damn some of his associates in the estimation of saint and sinner.

Under the government of the Utah Commission there was an energetic effort made to enforce the law against polygamists. United States deputy marshals invaded every city, town and hamlet in the Territory, and made arrests wherever possible. The invasions of the marshals sent hundreds of Saints to the "underground," a word used in lieu of hiding. The wealthier of the Saints took a wife or two and fled to Canada or to Mexico. Those whose lack of wealth compelled them to remain at home to look after their farms or other employment, endeavored to avoid the marshals by brief visits to the convenient mountains, to adjoining towns, or hiding on their farms till the detested officers left the vicinity.

In various ways the brethren and sisters aided each other. A sharp lookout for "marshals" was maintained by the Saints, and on the appearance of a minion of Uncle Sam in one of the adjoining towns, messengers would be dispatched to the home of every polygamist with the warning, "Marshal, Cuddebeck, Sargent," or some other name, familiar as household words, "is in town," when a general hegira of the husbands of more than one wife would take place. Messengers were also sent to adjoining towns and villages with the unwelcome tidings, "the marshals are coming."

The Saints made no resistance other than to baffle the marshals, and to aid each other. Occasionally the marshals had unpleasant experiences—one of them somewhat painful: Marshal Andrew Sargent of Piute county visited Kingston, near the confluence of the east and south forks of the Sevier River. The coveted polygamist was "not at home," The residence was guarded by the plucky little plural. Marshal Sargent's effort to enter the dwelling was forestalled by a well-directed dose of cayenne pepper in his eyes. Ex-marshal Sargent is now living at peace with the Saints at Junction, some three miles from the scene of his cayenne-pepper adventure.

Another incident of "hide-and-seek" will be given as illustrative of the days of the "under-ground." The place was Deseret, a small town on the old Oregon Short Line, now San Pedro and Salt Lake, and one hundred and sixty miles southwesterly from Salt Lake City.

By frequent, and unexpected invasions of the place, Marshal Mount had captured all but one of the polygamists. During two years Mount had carried a warrant for the special lawbreaker, but all efforts to "serve the paper" had failed. In fact, he had never seen him to know him. The man had received a commission from the Geological Survey to make a collection of fossils from the shale and limestones of Antelope Springs, thirty-five miles westerly from Deseret. One evening as the man was getting supper for his son, brother and himself, a traveler drove down to the spring and prepared to camp. The brother went down to the traveler's camp, returned, and in a scared voice said, "Mount is down there." "All right; if he asks any questions tell him my name is Brown, and that I'm in the employ of the Government." Mount and "Brown" spent a very sociable evening.

About six months afterward Mount made another effort to get his intended victim. Failing, the marshal asked the bishop, who was then under bonds, to find the man and ask him to come in, and gave his word not to put him under arrest—"just wanted to get acquainted with him." In the course of an hour the much-wanted polygamist stepped on the porch of the hotel, extended his hand and smilingly said, "How do you do, Mr. Mount?" The marshal responded, "Well, your face is familiar, but I can't place you."

"You ought to remember me," replied the other, "you and I spent a very pleasant evening at Antelope Springs last March. My name is ———."

The conference was amusing. Mount promised his visitor that if he would give his word to surrender and plead "guilty," that he would "call the chase off," and that "Judge Judd will suspend sentence if you will agree to obey the law." The proposition was taken "under advisement." As the fugitive was about to depart, he remarked, "How long will you give me to get out of reach?"

Mount, looking at his watch: "Just one hour."

"All right, that's as good as a week."

The marshal and fugitive shook hands, and the latter, an honest offender against his country's laws, walked leisurely away.

In the course of a couple of weeks the plural wife of the man above referred to, was subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury then sitting in Provo. The polygamous Mormon felt that the end had come—that the Government of the United States, rather than the Mormon Deity, was on top in the struggle for the supremacy of polygamy. Rather than see his wife dragged before the grand jury, he went to Provo and surrendered himself. He appeared before Judge Judd, pleaded guilty and promised to obey the law. In a kindly voice, Judge John W. Judd said to the repentant (?) offender, "You are congratulated on the stand you have taken. You may go home—and behave yourself."

The news of ———'s surrender reached Deseret in advance of his arrival. One of the aged Saints accosted the released criminal, thusly:

"Brother ———, I hear that you agreed to obey the law."

Being assured of the truth of the report, the aged Saint continued, "I would have rotted in the penitentiary before I would have yielded a hair's breadth to our enemies."

"Well," replied the other, "that is merely a matter of preference. But it will not be long until the entire church will be compelled to surrender."

The incident that inspired the above-quoted prediction took place in Judge Judd's court the day the "Desereter" was told to "go home." Some fifty or sixty of the Saints had pleaded "guilty," but nearly all were obdurate in their determination to continue breaking the law. While waiting for the marshal to take them to the penitentiary, Judge Judd turned to the defiant polygamists, and in a kindly, sympathetic voice, said to them, "I want to say a few words to you people before you depart for the penitentiary. You haven't the appearance of criminals. And aside from the special offense for which you have received light sentences, you are a law-abiding people. But the laws of the United States have declared that polygamy and unlawful cohabitation are crimes. And I will say to you, in all kindness, that Uncle Sam is on top in this Territory, and you people have one of three alternatives—you can obey the law, leave the Territory or go to the penitentiary."

Within ten days from the date of Judge Judd's ultimatum, the Manifesto surrendering polygamy had been written, and within three weeks the great conference of ten thousand Saints in Salt Lake City had endorsed the surrender.

During the period so briefly discussed, many of the Mormon leaders and hundreds of the lay members served terms in the penitentiary. But still they were obdurate. In defiance of oft-repeated asseverations that they were willing to obey the "constitutional" laws of the United States, the "prophets, seers and revelators" ignored the decisions of the Supreme Court, and essayed, under the alleged higher law of God, to interpret the Constitution for themselves and people.

In concluding this division of the subject, it is but justice to say of both parties to the conflict—the Federal officers and the body of the Saints—that each emerged from the conflict with mutual good-will. The courts were as merciful as circumstances would permit. The marshals were also unexpectedly considerate and gentlemanly in their performance of their unpleasant duties. In many instances the officers paroled the prisoners. And in no instance, so far as known, did a Mormon fail to keep the terms of his parole. They would lie like Ananias about the whereabouts of the brethren, and use every subterfuge to throw the marshals off the scent; but when finally run to cover, a "Mormon's word was as good as his bond."

The stubbornness of the Saints in choosing the alternative of prison walls to obedience to law, begot a greater determination on the part of Congress to compel respect for the law.

A bill was introduced that, had it passed, would have disfranchised every Mormon in Utah, and placed the Territory exclusively under Gentile control.

ORLANDO W. POWERS

While the bill was pending (in 1889) another force that, for ten years, had been gathering momentum, suddenly loomed before the bewildered prophets.

The partial development of Utah's magnificent mining resources had attracted a large number of Gentiles to the Territory. Under the able leadership of Judge Orlando W. Powers, the non-Mormon element of Salt Lake was fused into a united, unyielding organization, known as the Liberal party.

From nearly every town in Utah, Mormons were called on "missions" to Salt Lake City, where each acquired a "legal-residence" standing. They were put to work for the city, and in every conceivable way furnished with employment. It was a political colonization scheme to keep the city under Mormon control—a scheme, so far as the city was concerned, to compel the Gentiles, by taxation, to support those Mormon voters during the tenure of their political "missions."

But Judge Powers was an astute politician and experienced campaigner from Michigan. His experience in political colonization had no doubt been somewhat limited, and there is no absolute evidence that he was an apt pupil of the Mormon colonizers.

But, suddenly, Salt Lake became a favorite residence for non-Mormon miners from Park, Bingham and other mining camps. Engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen from Green River to Corrinne suddenly became infatuated with Zion as a place of residence.

In brief, on the morning of August 4, 1889, Mormon and Gentile, saint and sinner, met at the polls. It was the hottest battle of the ballots ever witnessed in Utah. The next morning the Mormon prophets read on the walls of Zion:

LIBERAL MAJORITY OF 41—GEORGE M. SCOTT, MAYOR

And beneath it, with tear-dimmed eyes, the prophets and Saints read the ancient legend:

"MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN."

The prophets, after sixty years' struggle for political supremacy of the "Kingdom of God"—a struggle in which the dearest ties on earth, and millions of dollars wrung from the deserts, had been sacrificed, found themselves and their devoted followers between the upper and nether millstones.

CHAPTER XXX

OSTENSIBLE SURRENDER OF POLYGAMY—PROPHETS PUT THEIR DEITY IN A HOLE

From the unequivocal subject matter of the first Prophet's revelations and prophecies, down through the vain-glorious defiance of Brigham, the almost incoherent ravings of Heber, Jedediah and other prophets to the disincorporation of the church, the escheatment of its property, the disfranchisement of its specially favored holy-men of Israel—the polygamists, the annulment of woman's suffrage—thus weakening the voting strength of the church at least three-fifths, the threatened disfranchisement of the entire Mormon people and the political triumph of the Lord's "enemies" in the chief city of Zion, was surely a descent from heaven to hell for the Lord's vicegerents. Instead of the vox dei of the prophets, it had become the vox populi of the United States protesting against a theocracy within a "government of the people, for the people, by the people," whose ancestors had pledged their "lives and sacred honor" to the cause of "liberty and equal rights to all men."

Apparently, Utah had emerged from the despotism of intolerant priestcraft and the doctrine of blood-atonement, and had entered the enlightened sphere of individual freedom where, under the mild doctrine of the Son of Man, each mortal could exercise his divine prerogative of being persuaded to enter the portals of heaven, or of taking a "bee line" for the gates of perdition.

Under those conditions the ultra Mormon prophet had his choice of two horns of the dilemma. If he still maintained that the equivocal predictions of the Lord through Joseph Smith were actualities, he must concede that the Mormon Deity had met his Waterloo—that through the superior power of the United States he had met defeat at every turn. Of course, the prophets could always crawl into the self-satisfying hypothetical retreat of Elder

Roberts' "somewhat wide margins" between the Lord's predictions and their fulfillment to the end that a few honest souls might discard their brains and "write what history they pleased" and be exalted; or, retaining their brains, "write what history they pleased," and be damned for being consistent!

To concede that Joseph the Prophet was mistaken with regard to the source of his revelations—that they were mere "impressions of the Holy Spirit on his mind," "such as any good Methodist might receive," provided he "lived for it," and as such, decidedly uncertain as to their source, would have meant that the holy title of "prophets, seers and revelators" must be relinquished by the first presidency and apostles of the Mormon church. It would have meant the relinquishment of the bombastic claims of special divine religious and political prerogatives. It would have meant the disruption of the Mormon church, and compelled the high financiers of tithing to take back seats in the social and political life of Utah.

Even the Mormon prophets foresaw that "finis" had been written by the hand of man across the closing page of the Lord's attempt to politically rule the world through the medium of arrogant and despotic priests. It required no new revelation to inform the polygamous prophets that they and their people could no longer keep the command of God relative to marrying and living with plural wives unless they resorted to the Nauvoo policy of lying about it.

After viewing the wreck of the Lord's "glorious" and "strange" work, ordinary, uninspired sense would have justified the prophets in arriving at the conclusion that a serious mistake had been made by the first prophet, or that the carrying out of the alleged will of the Lord had been relegated to a bunch of incompetents called "prophets." Whatever their private views may have been regarding the mistakes of Joseph, they determined to accomplish by deception that which revelation had failed to achieve.

In the absence of direct knowledge of the details of any conspiracy, the student of history is justified in drawing inferences from resultant incidents of what, in a general way, actually transpired in the meeting of the conspirators.

From the date of the Liberal victory, August 4, 1889, to September 24, 1890, the ex-prophets had more than thirteen months in which to round out and perfect an uninspired program for the future. As prophets of the Lord, the leaders of Israel were complete failures. But when they matched their uninspired brains against the unpractised sense of the Gentiles, the former proved their superiority over the latter in everything pertaining to trickery and deception.

The venerable president of the church was enfeebled by the passing of four score years, and should be relieved from all responsibility for details and carrying out of the program. But his first counsellor, George Q. Cannon, was a man of unusual ability, of clear brains, and a far-seeing statesman who would have risen to prominence in any profession. President Cannon became "the power behind the throne." Second-counsellor, Joseph F. Smith, had no ability to initiate, but possessed the perseverance to carry out any program with all the tenacity of a bull dog. President-of-the-twelve-apostles Lorenzo Snow was a man of ability, a scholar, and possessed of good business sense. With the exception of Apostle Moses Thatcher, the members of the twelve were but animated echoes of President Cannon.

During the secret conclaves of the leaders of Israel, the following program was formulated:

First, to ostensibly surrender polygamy.

Second, to ostensibly divide the Mormon voters on national political lines.

Third, that as soon as the people of the United States exhibited symptoms of having been deceived by the Manifesto, the prophets were to apply for amnesty for themselves and fellow-polygamists of the Mormon church.

Fourth, that as soon as practicable, the Saints and those Gentiles who had been trapped by the affected death-bed repentance and loyalty of the Mormon leaders, would apply for statehood, and after that was obtained, the prophets and Saints would do exactly as they pleased.

The first act in the program was pulled off at the October conference in 1890 in the form of a document herewith submitted, and which was subsequently known as the Manifesto.

THE "MANIFESTO"

"To whom it may concern: Press dispatches have been sent for political purposes from Salt Lake City, which have been widely published, to the effect that the Utah Commission, in their recent report to the Secretary of the Interior, alleged that plural marriages are still being solemnized and that forty or more such marriages have been contracted in Utah since last June or during the last year; also in public discourses the leaders of the church have taught, encouraged, and urged the continuance of the practice of polygamy.

"I, therefore, as president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, do hereby, in the most solemn manner, declare that these charges are false. We are not teaching polygamy, or plural marriage, nor permitting any person to enter into its practice, and I deny that either forty or any other number of plural marriages have, during that period, been solemnized in our temples, or in any other place in the Territory.

"One case has been reported in which the marriage alleged was performed in the Endowment House, Salt Lake City, in the spring of 1889, but I have not been able to find out who performed the ceremony. In consequence of this, the Endowment House was, by my instruction, taken down without delay.

"Inasmuch as laws have been enacted by Congress forbidding plural marriages, which laws have been pronounced constitutional by the court of last resort, I do hereby declare my intention to submit to those laws, and to use my influence with the members of my church over which I preside to have them do likewise.

"There is nothing in my teachings to the church or in those of my associates during the time specified which can be reasonably construed to inculcate or encourage polygamy, and when any member of the church has used language which appeared to convey any such teachings he has been promptly reproved. And I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of this land.

(Signed) "WILFORD WOODRUFF,
"President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

It should be specially noted that the Manifesto contains not the slightest pretense that the Lord had anything to do with promulgating the "advice" with which the document closes. It will also be observed that no allusion is made to polygamous cohabitation, the practice of which was as much in violation of "constitutional" law as the contracting of plural marriages. Indeed, it should be patent to normal minds that the law forbidding plural marriages was passed for the express purpose of stopping polygamous cohabitation. The Utah Gentiles had been accused by the inspired men of Israel with having been "enemies" of the only true church of Christ on earth and its prophets, that they were eager tools of the devil in his puerile efforts to defeat the plans of the Sinless One, and to overthrow the Kingdom of God which Daniel saw would be "cut out of the mountain without hands," The devout Saint, or the ungodly Gentile, can accept either of the following explanations:

The Gentiles were not "enemies" of the Mormons except to the extent of demanding that they obey the same laws of the Government to which the Gentiles were compelled to submit; or that the Lord transformed them into human asses pending the lapse of time during which the Mormon Deity could get his second wind in the struggle for supremacy.

But to return to the analysis of the Manifesto. It has been pointed out that those who formulated that peculiar document for a "peculiar" people, made not the slightest pretense that the Almighty endorsed it, or that he had anything to do with its promulgation. In fact, it has all the earmarks of human expediency—the trick that every common ""drunk" attempts, when, in the presence of the police judge, he promises to be thereafter "good," and advises all other drunks to do likewise.

Months passed by, and it was noted by the prophets that their "enemies," the Gentiles, were tumbling over each other to snap at the Manifesto bait. The "Salt Lake Tribune," the powerful and uncompromising "enemy" of polygamy and temporal dictation of the prophets, looked askance at the deceptive Manifesto "fly." In order to encircle the Manifesto with the aureole of semi-inspiration, the power behind the throne induced the venerable President Woodruff to voice the following:

"I should have let all the temples go out of our hands; I should have gone to prison myself and let every man go there, had not THE GOD OF HEAVEN COMMANDED ME TO DO WHAT I DID DO; and when the hour came that I was commanded to do that, it was all clear to me. I laid it before my brethren, such strong men as Brother George Q. Cannon, Brother Joseph F. Smith and the twelve apostles. I might as well undertake to turn an army with banners out of its course as to turn them out of a course that they considered to be right. These men agreed with me, and 10,000 Latter-day Saints also agreed with me. Why? BECAUSE THEY WERE MOVED UPON BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD AND BY THE REVELATIONS OF JESUS CHRIST TO DO IT."

The above is an excerpt from a sermon delivered November 1, 1891, or about thirteen months after the public issuance of the Manifesto. And it was the first hint that saints or sinners had that the Lord had anything to do with the alleged repeal of the doctrine of plural marriage.

In order that the reader may have an impartial view of the incongruity of the allegation implied in President Woodruff's sermon, and subsequent unqualified statements made under oath by Prophet Joseph F. Smith, which will be hereinafter quoted, the following excerpta are submitted and the references given.

In her autobiography, edited by her brother, Apostle Lorenzo Snow, Mrs. Eliza R. Snow Young (plural wife of Joseph Smith and subsequently of Brigham Young) has the following:

"He (Joseph the Prophet) knew the voice of God—he knew the command of the Almighty was to go forward—to set the example and establish celestial plural marriage. . . . Yet, the Prophet hesitated and deferred from time to time, until an angel of God stood before him with a *drawn sword*, and told him that, unless he moved forward and established plural marriage, his priesthood would be taken away from him and he would be destroyed. This testimony he not only bore to my brother, but also to others."—Page 70, Edition of 1884.

The following quotations are from the revelation on polygamy:

"Therefore prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto you; for all those who have this law revealed unto them *must obey the same.*"

"For behold! I reveal unto you a new and everlasting covenant, and if ye abide not that covenant, *then are ye damned;*" etc.

"And as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fullness of my glory; and he that receiveth a fullness thereof, *must* and *shall* abide the law (of polygamy), or he *shall be damned, saith the Lord God.*"

Further on in the revelation, the "Lord God" is alleged to have taken Emma, the wife of the Prophet, who was seemingly opposed to the practical feature of the "new and everlasting covenant," in hand to thoroughly convert his "handmaid" by sanguinary threats of destruction. If the revelation be taken at its alleged worth, the "Lord God" said to Emma:

"And let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those (wives) that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are pure and virtuous before me; and those who are not pure, and have said they were pure, shall be destroyed, saith the Lord God."

Omitting one paragraph, the Lord is alleged to have proceeded as follows:

"And I command mine handmaid, Emma Smith, to abide (with?) and cleave unto my servant Joseph, and to none else. But if she will not abide this covenant (to accept Joseph's plurals), *she shall be destroyed,* saith the Lord; for I am the Lord thy God, *and will destroy her, if she abide not in my law.*"

And there is little wonder that Emma surrendered, as she is alleged to have done.

Sufficient has been quoted from the revelation to prove its absolutely binding force on any Mormon, male or female. There are no "ifs," "had there beens" or provisos in that revelation. Even the logical mind of Elder Roberts has not, thus far, discovered any "somewhat wide margins" by which the Saints may escape the mandatory letter and spirit of that revelation on polygamy.

Then, by what authority did those vicegerents advise the Saints to surrender the practice of plural marriage? If they assert that it was their personal "advice" to the Saints to cease plural marriages because of compulsion on the part of the United States, they must concede that they invaded the prerogative of the Almighty, and by their surrender, at once, compromised the power of the Omnipotent and their faith in the ability of God to carry out the terms of His commandment. If the "amendment" of November 1, 1891, was really a belated declaration that the Lord authorized the issuance of the Manifesto, that the Manifesto was a revelation, as sworn to by the present vicegerent, Joseph F. Smith, the prophets put their Lord in a mighty deep hole and "pushed the hole in on top of him." It was tantamount to conceding that the Lord had given a clear and unequivocal command which the citizens of the United States had prevented him from enforcing! Or, if the prophets fall back on the word "suspended," as used in their appeal for amnesty, and still insist that the Lord had anything to do with commanding the practice of polygamy or its surrender, they force the presence of God into a conspiracy, the object of which was to deceive the Government in granting statehood to the Saints, after which they could, secretly or openly, resume its practice.

Or the prophets may have retreated into the "somewhat wide margins," or contradictions that outcrop in the following:

"The principle of plurality of wives will never be done away with, although some sisters have revelations that, when this time passes away and they go through the veil, every woman will have a husband to herself."—Heber C. Kimball in the bowery, Salt Lake, October 6, 1855: "Journal of Discourses," Vol. II, page 125.

"Now, if any of you will *deny* the plurality of wives, and continue to do so, I promise that you will be damned."—Brigham Young in the bowery, Provo, July 14, 1855; "Journal of Discourses," Vol. III, page 266.

"We did not originate the doctrine of 'celestial marriage;' we have no right and no power to abolish it."—Charles W. Penrose in Ogden "Junction," December 17, 1875.

"The Latter-day Saint who *denies* and rejects that truth in his heart, might well reject every other truth connected with his mission."—Joseph F. Smith at Ogden, June 12, 1903; "Deseret News," June 23, 1903.

"Some people have supposed that the *doctrine* of plural wives was a sort of superfluity, or non-essential to the salvation or exaltation of mankind. In other words, some of the Saints have said, and believe, that a man with one wife, sealed to him by the authority of the priesthood for time and eternity, will receive an exaltation as great and as glorious, if he is faithful, as he possibly could with more than one. I want here to enter my solemn protest against this idea, for I know it is false."—Joseph F. Smith in Salt Lake tabernacle, Sunday, July 7, 1878; "Deseret News," September 7, 1878.

"We feel determined to do the will of God and keep his commandment to the best of our ability. The doctrine came from God. The matter of stopping it came from our Government." —Joseph F. Smith at East Bountiful, March 20, 1899.

"I believe in that principle today as much as I ever believed in it."—Joseph F. Smith at Washington, March 3, 1904.

With the exception of one of the above quotations there are loop-holes through which the slippery prophets can crawl from the definite to the indefinite, or from the salvation of practice to the salvation of mere belief in the doctrine of celestial marriage. From mere "advice" to cease plural marriages, the prophets, under compulsion, crawled to the word "suspended." From that position they have crawled out into the partial light, and in a half-hearted manner assure the world that the practice of polygamy has been abandoned—until—.

While they pretend to have yielded the authority of God to a superior power, they claim that they continue to believe in the divinity of the doctrine of polygamy.

From a purely human view-point of purely human conduct, the descent from practice to belief in burglary, under pressure of the law, involves no inconsistency. But the descent from the practice of a divine law, enjoyed under penalty of damnation for disobedience, to that of mere belief in the divinity of the law, is such as to warrant the rejection of the revelation with all that the rejection implies. Turn whichever way the prophets may, they are confronted by the walls of an inclosure of inconsistency from which the Lord cannot, and will not, aid them to escape.

Inasmuch as "belief" in the alleged divinity of the doctrine of plural marriage as a saving grace (rather, "to save their faces") was selected by the prophets as the "soft spot" on which to alight, it may be well, as a matter of exercise, to pursue the "Lord's anointed" just a little farther.

The practice of plural marriage was of such importance that an "angel with a drawn sword" compelled Joseph to obey it. Under the pressure of human law the angel sheathed his sword and departed for Kolob and reported that, "the polygamy jig is over; the Government of the United States has declared that Kolob's ruler can't play the polygamous game within the boundaries of its dominion."

The substitution of mere "belief" in the rightfulness of polygamy is an invasion of the prerogative of the one who commanded its practice. And there was no pretense on the part of the prophets that the Lord approved of the substitution. As a cardinal doctrine, the Saints are no more justified in the abandonment of polygamy than they would be in substituting faith in baptism for its practice.

The doctrine of "eternal increase" is based on plural cohabitation, not on a mere belief in its rightfulness. Its estoppel, by whatever authority or power, would deprive future Saints of the privileges of that greater exaltation so voluminously and emphatically promised to those who would avail themselves of its provisions. Then wherein are the Saints justified or benefited in surrendering the substance and retaining the shadow?

The foregoing is not written for the purpose of undermining the faith of Mormon readers. Even if they should read it, they would murmur "apostate," and turn to the perennial faith that in some way the "Lord will open the way" to the resumption of the practice. They believe, yes, they now know, that the Manifesto is an unadulterated fake, or, in the words of an aged Scandinavian sister in Sanpete, it was issued "yoost to fool the Yentiles."

Utah Gentiles fully understand the truth of the statements made in this chapter. They have learned that the Manifesto was one of the most glaring fakes of the age because they know of many plural marriages that have been consummated since 1890, and that some of those marriages have been publicly conceded by the church leaders. But the details of the involved treachery must be deferred to a future chapter.

It would be an injustice to Mormon polygamous wives to close this chapter without special reference to their status and behavior under the Manifesto surrender.

From girlhood they had been taught the "righteousness" of the doctrine, and their minds educated for its practice. The monogamous world may sneer at Mormon women. But since Eve, in her primeval innocence, with bowed head stood before her Maker, no purer, truer women have graced the Creator's footstool than the great majority of Mormon plural wives.

The Mormon "philosopher" may hike back to nature for examples to prove the rightfulness of plural intercourse. In doing so, he takes no cognizance of the mighty gap between instinct and reason; nor between animal gratification and the ability to suffer the mental tortures of the damned. Nor does the Mormon "philosopher" take cognizance of the habits of the bird family, that, in their domestic habits, come nearer to idealistic home life than all the other animals in existence, and infinitely nearer perfection than the great majority of human homes.

Nor does the Mormon priest take into consideration the fact that all the self-denial, sequestration of natural impulses, are the lot of plural wives, while the "lord of creation" and the household knows not of, nor practices, self-denial. Nor does he seem to ever think of the probable effects that, because of stifled emotions, may become the heritage of irresponsible posterity.

At the time of the issuance of the Manifesto the rank and file of the Mormons understood that it meant the earthly surrender of polygamy. It was not until later that they learned the perfidy of their prophets, and to excuse it on the grounds of necessity. Those plural wives were as devoted to their home surroundings as the monogamous wives. The plural wife looked for the periodical home-coming of the husband and father with all the eagerness of the monogamous wife. And it was on those plural homes that the shadow of the Manifesto fell with crushing force. Those women had laid the best of their lives and all they possessed on the altar of polygamy. By the edict of the Manifesto, hundreds of modern Hagars were driven forth into the wilderness of a new and strange existence. In some cases the first wife voluntarily secured a divorce from her husband, so that the plural wife might become the legal wife, and that, too, from the loftiest motives.

By degrees it dawned on the Saints that secret plural marriages were being celebrated. One by one, husbands returned to their plural families and the former relations were resumed.

The Gentiles had received the Manifesto in good faith. But they soon noted the return to old conditions. And with partial realization of the pitiful position in which the wholesale divorcement of plural wives had left them, the Gentiles permitted, without protest, the return of prodigal husbands. Under all the circumstances, they regarded it as the lesser of the evils. And they had faith in the unqualified promises of the Mormon chiefs that plural marriages had been forever abandoned, and that polygamy would thus die out. It was the humanitarian view. It was a credit to their hearts and heads.

The mutual surrender produced an era of good feeling between Gentiles and Mormons. And by every law of sacred honor, of justice, humanity and decency, those prophets of the Lord should have encouraged the continuance of peace and progress, rather than to destroy it by acts of treachery that have had no parallel since Judas betrayed his Master.

CHAPTER XXXI

PROPHETS APPEAL FOR AMNESTY—OBTAINED UNDER FALSE PRETENSES—UNPARALLELED TREACHERY

Before proceeding to the discussion of the division on national political lines in Utah, it is well to further strengthen the charge of inspired treachery that in the preceding chapter is preferred against the Mormon prophets.

During December, 1891, or some fourteen months after the promulgation of the Manifesto, the Mormon leaders formulated a petition for unconditional pardon for past offenses against the laws of the United States. The petition was based on the pretended sincerity of the Manifesto surrender, which clearly proves that the petition was one of the preconceived moves of the conspirators that hatched the pretended abandonment of polygamy.

PETITION FOR AMNESTY

"To the President: We, the first Presidency and Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, beg to present to your Excellency the following facts:

"We formerly taught to our people that polygamy, or celestial marriage, as commanded by God through Joseph Smith, was right; that it was a necessity to man's highest exaltation in the life to come.

"That doctrine was publicly promulgated by our president, the late Brigham Young, forty years ago, and was steadily taught and impressed upon the Latter-day Saints up to a short time before September, (?) 1890. Our people are devout and sincere and they accepted the doctrine and many personally embraced and practised polygamy.

"When the Government sought to stamp out the practice, our people, almost without exception, remained firm, for they, while having no desire to oppose the Government in anything, still felt that their lives and their honor as men were pledged to the vindication of their faith, and that their duty to those whose lives were part of their own was a paramount one to fulfill which they had no right to count anything, not even their own lives, as standing in the way. Following this conviction, hundreds endured arrest, trial, fine and imprisonment, and the immeasurable suffering borne by these faithful people, no language can describe. That suffering in abated form still continues.

"More, the Government added disfranchisement to its other forms of punishment for those who clung to their faith and fulfilled its covenants.

"According to our creed, the head of the church from time to time receives revelations for the religious guidance of his people. In September, 1890, the present head of the church in anguish and prayer cried out to God for help for his flock, and received permission to advise the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints that the law commanding polygamy was henceforth suspended.

"At the great semi-annual conference, which was held a few days later, this was submitted to the people, numbering many thousands and representing every community of people in Utah, and was by them, in the most solemn manner, accepted as the future rule of their lives. They have since been faithful to the covenant made that day.

"At the last October conference, after a year had passed by, the matter was once more submitted to the thousands of people gathered together and they again in the most potential manner ratified the solemn covenant.

"This being the true situation, and believing the object of the Government was simply the vindication of its own authority and to compel obedience to its laws, and that it takes no pleasure in persecution, we respectfully pray that full amnesty may be extended to all who may be under disabilities because of the so-called Edmunds-Tucker law.

"Our people are scattered, homes made desolate, many are still imprisoned, others are banished or in hiding. Our hearts bleed for these. In the past they followed our counsels, and while they are thus afflicted, our souls are in sackcloth and ashes.

"We believe that there is nowhere in the Union a more loyal people than the Latter-day Saints. They know of no other country except this. They expect to live and die on this soil.

"When the men of the South who were in rebellion against the Government in 1865 threw down their arms and asked for recognition along the old lines of citizenship, the Government hastened to grant their prayer.

"To be at peace with the Government and in harmony with their fellow citizens who are not of their faith, and to share in the confidence of the Government and people, our people have voluntarily put aside something which they all their lives have believed to be a sacred principle.

"Have they not the right to ask for such clemency as comes when the claims of both law and justice have been liquidated?

"As shepherds of a patient and suffering people we ask amnesty for them and pledge our faith and honor for their future.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

"Salt Lake City, December, 1891.

"Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, Lorenzo Snow, Franklin D. Richards, Moses Thatcher, Francis M. Lyman, Heber J. Grant, John Henry Smith, John W. Taylor, M. W. Merrill, Anthon H. Lund, Abraham H. Cannon."

In paragraphs one, two and three of the Manifesto there is found an unequivocal denial to the effect that during the last year prior to promulgating the Manifesto, polygamy had been taught or encouraged. In fact, that the Endowment House had been taken down because of a reported case of polygamous marriage in that building.

As the petition for amnesty states, many influential citizens, among them the members of the Utah Commission, endorsed the prophets' appeal for pardon, which completely disproved the prior charge of the Mormon leaders that the Gentiles were "enemies of the Saints," and that they again desired to drive them from their homes and possessions. That graceful act on the part of the Utah Gentiles proved beyond controversy that they were good friends of the Mormons and all they asked was that the latter obey the constitutional laws of their country.

It will be observed that the petition for amnesty, like the Manifesto, makes no mention of unlawful cohabitation, which was the special crime to which the people of the United States most seriously objected. Whether or not President Harrison noted the apparent omission is immaterial. But the fact that the President understood that unlawful cohabitation was, by implication, and should have been directly, included in the Manifesto, is proved by the fact that he names that crime six times in his amnesty proclamation, and he makes the pardon contingent on the observance of the law against unlawful cohabitation. It should also be specifically noted that the Mormon leaders pledged their faith and honor to obedience to the law.

The President's reply follows:

"AMNESTY PROCLAMATION.

"Washington, D. C., January 4th, 1893.

"Whereas Congress by a statute approved March 22d, 1882, and by statute in furtherance and amendment thereof, defined the crimes of bigamy, polygamy and unlawful cohabitation in the Territories and other places within the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States and prescribed a penalty for such crimes; and

"Whereas on or about the 6th of October, 1890, the Church of Latter-day Saints, commonly known as the Mormon Church, through its president issued a Manifesto proclaiming the purpose of said church no longer to sanction the practice of polygamous marriages, and calling on all members and adherents of such church to obey the laws of the United States in reference to such subject matter; and,

"Whereas it is represented that since the date of said declaration the members and adherents of said church generally obeyed such laws and have abstained from plural marriages and polygamous cohabitation; and

"Whereas by a petition dated December 19th, 1891, the officials of said church, pledging the membership thereof to a faithful obedience to the laws against plural marriage and unlawful cohabitation, have applied to me to grant amnesty for past offenses against said laws, which request a large number of non-Mormons residing in the Territories have also strongly urged; and

"Whereas the Utah Commission, in their report bearing date September 15th, 1892, recommends that said petition be granted, and said amnesty be proclaimed under proper conditions as to the future obedience of the law, with a view to the encouragement of those now disposed to become law-abiding citizens; and

"Whereas during the last two years such amnesty has been granted individual applicants in a very large number of cases, conditioned upon the faithful observance of the laws of the United States against unlawful cohabitation, and there are now pending many more such applications;

Now, therefore, I, Benjamin Harrison, President of the United States, by virtue of the powers in me vested, do hereby declare and grant a full amnesty and pardon for all persons liable to the penalties of said act, by reason of unlawful cohabitation under the color of polygamous marriage, who have, since November 1st, 1890, abstained from such unlawful cohabitation, but upon the express condition that they shall in the future faithfully obey the laws of the United States hereinbefore named and not otherwise.

"Those who shall fail to avail themselves of the clemency hereby offered will be vigorously prosecuted.

"BENJAMIN HARRISON.

"By the President:

"JOHN W. FOSTER, *Secretary of State.*"

The faith of the Saints in the infallibility of their prophets is so serene and child-like that all they need from their seers is the merest hint as to the course the revelators desire them to pursue, therefore, as before pointed out, the advice of President Woodruff was, to the Saints, equivalent to a command to cease unlawful cohabitation. But it was soon whispered among the faithful that no reference was made in the Manifesto to that especial offense against constitutional law. By the time the amnesty proclamation of January 4th, 1893, was issued, nearly every polygamous Saint had resumed his former relations with his plural wives. Among the exceptions were presidents Wilford Woodruff and George Q. Cannon. Apostle Lorenzo Snow appeared to think that he was observing the law by living with his last plural,—Minnie.

Notwithstanding that President Harrison's pardon was based on the discontinuance of unlawful cohabitation, the registry files throughout Utah, and the large increase in the number of votes cast at the next election, prove beyond controversy that polygamous Saints registered and voted.

Granting, for the moment, that in the petition for amnesty, in which the faith and honor of the Mormon chiefs were pledged, there was no intent to include unlawful cohabitation, the terms of the solemn compact were violated by at least two of the apostolic signers of that document. They are John W. Taylor and Abraham H. Cannon. Each of those Apostles married plural wives after the amnesty proclamation of President Harrison.

The case of Apostle Taylor was abundantly proved by the testimony of L. E. Abbott, a reputable and prominent ex-sheriff living in Farmington, some sixteen miles north of Salt Lake City. Mr. Abbott's testimony was given before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections in the matter of seating Apostle Reed Smoot, at Washington, D. C., December, 1904. In substance, the evidence was that Apostle Taylor had five wives at the time of Mr. Abbott's testimony. That two of those wives were Roxie and Rhoda Welling, plural half-sisters, twenty-two to twenty-four years old, and were altogether too young to have been wives at the date of the issuance of the Manifesto. They were reputed to be the wives of Taylor, and there were no denials of such plural relations. "They were living, one of them with each of his (Taylor's) wives as 'hired girls.'" (Report, Vol. I, pp. 1051-2.) It was also a significant fact that Apostle Taylor fled to Canada rather than appear as a witness in the Smoot investigation.

The case of Apostle Abraham H. Cannon was conclusively proved by the testimony of Mrs. Wilhelmina C. Ellis, formerly third wife of the above-named apostle. Substantially the evidence was as follows:

Apostle Cannon told his wife, Wilhelmina, that he intended to marry Lillian Hamlin, who had been engaged to the apostle's brother who had recently died. That Apostle Cannon, Miss Hamlin and Joseph F. Smith went to California the middle of June, 1896, and returned about the first of July. That Apostle Cannon and Miss Hamlin were married while on that trip. Mr. Cannon returned a very sick man, and within a couple of weeks died at the home of his wife Wilhelmina. Previous to his death Apostle Cannon confessed his marriage to Miss Hamlin, and asked his wife's forgiveness. He told her that he had "never had a well day since he married her." "I think it killed him," added Mrs. Cannon Ellis.

In every way Apostle Cannon was a most lovable and conscientious man, and there is little doubt that the reaction on his mind—the realization of broken pledges with President Harrison, and really with his God, so preyed upon him as to cause his death. (Report, Vol. II, pp. 141-2.)

Who advised him to take the fatal step, and who performed the ceremony are thus far unknown to the public, but there is a well-founded belief that Joseph F. Smith, notwithstanding his denials, was the officiating priest. He was with Apostle Cannon and Miss Hamlin on the trip to California, and if he did not perform the ceremony, he knows who did. He conceded in his testimony (Report, Vol. I, p. 11) that it was his understanding that Apostle Cannon and Miss Hamlin were living together as man and wife, and in knowing that, President Smith knew that at least one plural marriage had been consummated since he and other Mormon leaders had pledged their faith and honor to obedience to constitutional law forbidding the practice of that doctrine.

Subsequently M. F. Cowley was elevated to the apostolate. It was well known that Elder Cowley was a post-Manifesto polygamist. Before the examination as to the fitness of Apostle Smoot to retain his seat in the United States Senate, Apostles John W. Taylor and M. F. Cowley fled to Canada to escape service of the subpoenas, even declining President Smith's request, so he alleged, to go to Washington and testify. Under pressure President Smith agreed with the Senate Committee to investigate the charges of post-Manifesto polygamy against Taylor and

Cowley. Ostensibly this was done and the two apostles were dropped on the charge that they were "out of harmony with their quorum."

It will be noted that Joseph F. Smith knew that Abraham H. Cannon was a post-Manifesto polygamist, and, according to Smith's testimony, he did not rebuke the apostle because of his broken pledges, but Taylor and Cowley were relieved of their exalted positions because of recent plural marriages. And why? To the end that Reed Smoot, a Mormon Apostle, might retain a seat in the United States Senate, add prestige to a church whose leaders are living in defiance of their country's laws and of solemn pledges they made in consideration for the opportunity to continue, unmolested, their career of crime and of treachery to the United States.

To further strengthen the above unqualified charges, it is well to quote from the testimony of President Joseph F. Smith and Apostle Francis M. Lyman given before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections in the matter of the retention of Apostle Reed Smoot in the Senate. In order to prove by the highest inspired authority, that every man in the Mormon church who has married a plural wife, or who has lived in polygamy since the Manifesto was promulgated, has the inspired approval of the chief prophet, the following evidence is submitted. While perusing it the reader should note the efforts of God's prophet, seer and revelator, President Joseph F. Smith, to withhold the truth. It is well to here inform the reader that the references to the "Master in Chancery" made by Joseph F. Smith, refer to testimony given by the Mormon leaders in 1892 when the prophets made hysterical efforts to secure the return of the escheated church property, which they obtained by quasi perjury, and by statements that, in the present and in the years to come, will be their accusers. All the following quotations are from the report of the proceedings before the Senate Committee and referred to merely as "report" in giving the references.

It is well to first establish the divine status of the Manifesto, which is done in the following quotations:

Mr. Smith (Joseph F.). "It is merely a custom I guess; it was so-called in the first place, and we have become habituated to it, just as we have become habituated in calling the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints the Mormon church. We have accepted the term, although it is not the name of the church."

Senator Bailey: "It indicates no difference as far as the binding authority upon the conscience of members is concerned?"

Mr. Smith: "No, sir." (Report, Vol. I, p. 289.)

Again Senator Bailey probed the Lord's prophet, who fairly crawled on his inspired belly in his efforts to escape his former admission that the Manifesto is a revelation:

Senator Bailey: "And yet you, as the head of the church, are defying both—"

Mr. Smith: "Oh, no."

Senator Bailey: "The statutes of Utah and the ordinance of the church—"

Mr. Smith: "Not the ordinance at all."

Senator Bailey: "Perhaps you have another and better expression to describe them?"

Mr. Smith: "If you say the Manifesto—"

Senator Bailey: "I should say that a revelation once communicated to the church and sustained by the church would become an ordinance of the church."

Mr. Smith: "If the Senator please—"

Senator Bailey: "If you will provide me with a better expression than that I shall be glad to adopt it. We will call it the law of the church."

Mr. Smith: "No, sir; call it the *rule.*"

Senator Bailey: "Does not a revelation become the law of the church?"

Mr. Smith: "Call it the *rule* of the church and I will understand."

Senator Bailey: "Law, after all, is but a rule of conduct prescribed by the supreme power. What I am trying now to emphasize is that the Manifesto is a revelation, or that it is based upon a revelation; that the revelation—"

Mr. Smith: "If the Senator will permit me, *it is inspired;* it is the *same thing;* I *admit* what you say."

Senator Bailey: "I do not know much about these nice distinctions in the gospel as I hope I do in the law. I am amenable to correction in those. But, at any rate, it is a revelation forbidding alike plural marriage and unlawful cohabitation, and that revelation from the Lord is supplemented and reinforced by the statutes of the State of Utah."

Mr. Smith: "*Yes, sir.*"—(Report, Vol. I, p. 336.)

The first and general impression of the Saints relative to the scope of the Manifesto was that it applied only to Utah, and that there was an involved tacit permission to continue plural marriage in Canada and Mexico. The pitiable squirming of the Lord's anointed, Mr. Smith, to evade that question is evidenced in the following:

Mr. Tayler: "This Manifesto was intended to reach throughout all the world wherever the Mormon church operated, was it not?"

Mr. Smith: "It is so stated."

Mr. Tayler: "It is so stated?"

Mr. Smith: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Tayler: "Well, where?"

Mr. Smith: "In the investigation that followed:

Mr. Tayler: "Then the fact is—"

Mr. Smith: "Before the Master in Chancery, I suppose."

Mr. Worthington: "Let him finish his answer, Mr. Tayler."

Mr. Tayler: "It is not an answer to say that it is stated somewhere, unless it is stated in some document."

Mr. Smith: "It is stated in some document."

Mr. Tayler: "Is that the fact?"

Mr. Smith: "Let me hear your question."

Mr. Tayler: "That the suspension of the law commanding polygamy operated everywhere upon the Mormon people, whether within the United States or without?"

Mr. Smith: "That is our understanding, that it did."

Mr. Tayler: "Did this Manifesto and the plea for amnesty affect also the continuance of cohabitation between those who had been previously married?"

Mr. Smith: "It was so declared in the examination before the Master in Chancery."

Mr. Tayler: "I am asking you."

Mr. Smith: "Well, sir, I will have to refresh my memory by the written word. You have the written word there and that states the fact as it existed."

Mr. Tayler: "I want to ask you for your answer to that question."

Mr. Smith: "What is the question?"

Mr. Tayler: "The stenographer will read it."

The stenographer read as follows:

"Did this Manifesto and the plea for amnesty affect also the continuance of cohabitation between those who had been previously married?"

Mr. Smith: "It was so understood."

Mr. Tayler: "And did you so understand it?"

Mr. Smith: "I understood it so, yes, sir."

(Report, Vol. I, p. 106.)

The following is submitted as another evidence of inspired squirming:

Mr. Tayler: "Is the law of the church, as well as the law of the land, against the taking of plural wives?"

Mr. Smith: "Yes, sir, I will say—"

Mr. Tayler: "Is that the law?"

Mr. Smith: "I would substitute the word *rule* of the church."

Mr. Tayler: "Rule?"

Mr. Smith: "Instead of law, as you put it."

Mr. Tayler: "Very well. Then to take a plural wife would be a violation of the rule of the church?"

Mr. Smith: "It would."

Mr. Tayler: "Would it be such a violation of the rule of the church as would induce the authorities to take it up like the violation of any other rule would do?"

Mr. Smith: "It would."

(Report, Vol. I, p. 128.)

The last two sentences are supplemented by the following from the Report, Vol. I, pp. 177-178:

Mr. Smith: "I wish to say again, Mr. Chairman, that there have been no plural marriages solemnized by and with the consent or by the knowledge of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints by any man, I do not care who he is."

The Chairman: "I understand that."

Mr. Worthington (Counsel for Smoot): "Since the Manifesto?"

Mr. Smith: "I mean that, of course. I understand that this investigation comes in after the Manifesto."

Senator Dubois: "If an apostle of the church had performed such a ceremony within or without the United States, would you consider that being with the authority of your church?"

Mr. Smith: "If an apostle or any other man claiming authority should do any such thing as that, he would not only be subject to prosecution, heavy fine and imprisonment in the State, under the State law, but he would also be subject to discipline and excommunication from the church by the proper tribunals of the church."

In the dropping of Apostles Taylor and Cowley from the quorum of the Twelve, it was conceded that those men were post-Manifesto polygamists. But were they excommunicated? Perish the thought. Have any of the following named post-Manifesto polygamists been even disciplined? Joseph Marion Tanner, who married the widow of Prime Evans some three or four years ago; Thomas Chamberlain (first counsellor to President Edwin D. Wooley of the Kanab Stake of Zion), who married Mamie Wooley as his ninth wife some three or four years ago; Joseph Robinson, also of Kanab, who married Hattie Spencer and Wilmia Brown as his plurals within the last six years (Elder Robinson was rewarded for his polygamy by Prophet Joseph F. Smith, who elevated him to be President of the Mexican Mission); Charles E. Merrill, of Richmond, Utah, who was married to his "legal" plural in 1891 by his father, Apostle Mariner W. Merrill, and others whose names and the names of their plural wives could be given.

Joseph F. Smith is personally acquainted with the polygamists named above, and with their repute as post-Manifesto criminals, and can begin his excommunications at any time. If, however, he utterly fails to keep his promise of excommunication, he should be pardoned on two separate grounds: First, he was aiding, under false pretenses, to seat a prophet, seer and revelator in the United States Senate; second, he was merely exercising his prerogative as a Mormon prophet to lie "for the welfare of Zion," and when it is about polygamy that Joseph F. is lying, he should be pardoned on the further ground that he has the high example of his relatives before him, the Nauvoo prophets.

In order to absolutely prove that President Smith, his counsellors and apostles have definite knowledge of post-Manifesto plural marriages, an excerpt will be made from a pamphlet—"An Address. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the World," 1907. And inasmuch as it bears the legend—"Let facts be submitted to a candid world," it should be accepted as an unusually truthful document. The quotation is from page 14, and reads as follows:

"When all the circumstances are weighed, the wonder is, not that there have been sporadic cases of plural marriage, but that such cases have been so few. It should be remembered that a religious conviction *existed* among the people, holding this order of marriage to be divinely sanctioned. Little wonder then that there should appear, in a community as large as ours, and as sincere, a few over-zealous individuals who refused to submit even to the action of the Church in such a matter, or that these few should find others who sympathized with their views; the number, however, is small."

The "candid world" should be grateful for the long, over-due confession that there have been some "sporadic" cases of post-Manifesto polygamy by a few over-zealous individuals, and, inasmuch as those polygamous zealots refused to submit even to the action of the church, a few belated excommunications may be confidently expected(?).

In connection with the subject of post-Manifesto polygamy, an editorial from the Kanab "Clipper," published in 1902, and two or three months in 1903, by W. T. Dobson and Frank Little, is herewith reproduced. They are highly respected and sincere young Mormons. Mr. Dobson at the present writing is principal of the Kanab public school.

Kanab is the southernmost town in Utah, and is near the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, during many years a favorite resort for many "underground" polygamists.

The title of the editorial is: "The Manifesto Consistency,"

"On the twenty-fourth day of September, in the year eighteen hundred and ninety, President Woodruff of the Mormon church issued to the world a declaration which ended with these words: 'And I now publicly declare that my advice to the Latter-day Saints is to refrain from contracting any marriages forbidden by the law of the land,' At the October conference, held two weeks afterwards, that declaration was placed before the people and ratified by the officers and members of the church.

"President Woodruff told that conference:

" 'I want to say to all Israel that the step I have taken in issuing this Manifesto has not been done without earnest prayers before the Lord; also, the Lord has given us commandments concerning many things, and we have carried them out as far as we could; but when we cannot do it we are justified. The Lord does not require at our hands things that we cannot do.'

"Coming as it did from the mouthpiece of God after earnest prayers and being accepted by the whole church, that Manifesto was binding on every member of the church. It was the advice of God to his people. They, in conference assembled, agreed with uplifted hands to accept and obey that advice.

"Not that the Manifesto can be construed to command, but that the church covenanted before God and man not to contract any more unlawful marriages.

"In view of these facts taken in connection with some of the public and private declarations of some of our local officials on the subject, it is not out of place for Latter-day Saints to ask these questions:

" 'Can that Manifesto be overruled without expression of God's mind on the subject? Can it be disregarded by honest men? Can a man live in full fellowship with God and his church and yet break that sacred promise?'

"There are those who, since that covenant was made, have taken plural wives. Some will think to silence argument by denying this, but denials will not weigh against knowledge. That these marriages could not be proved in court, has no bearing on their existence.

"While the church as a whole cannot be held responsible for them unless they were performed in the house of God, the church has no right to tell its members that such things are none of their business.

"If the church cannot prohibit such marriages, public sentiment has a right to condemn them as direct lies to God and the church. The people of God has a right to know whether the church sanctions such marriages. If it does not it has no right to ask people to sanction them by silence on the subject. If this be 'steadying the ark,' then so be it."

As before stated, Kanab is the home of Thomas Chamberlain and Joseph H. Robinson, two of the polygamists previously mentioned, and there is little doubt that those two cases and others, aroused the young editor's indignation.

The editorial above quoted was like the explosion of a bombshell in the town of "over-zealous sporadics." President E. D. Wooley (father of Chamberlain's last plural), interviewed Editor Dobson and told him that another break of that kind would send his paper into bankruptcy. Mr. Dobson defied the political and spiritual "boss" of Kane county and the "Clipper" went to the wall, but every man and woman in southern Utah knew that the editorial, so far as it went, was true in every respect.

In his testimony before the Senate Committee, Mr. Smith confessed that his five wives had borne him eleven children since the promulgation of the Manifesto, and that he has justified his open defiance of the law of his God and the law of his State, is further proved by the unfailing annual crop of infant prophets in the polygamous family of Mr. Smith.

CHAPTER XXXII

UNQUESTIONING OBEDIENCE—TESTIMONY OF PRESIDENT JOSEPH F. SMITH AND APOSTLE F. M. LYMAN

The discussion of the so-called division of the Saints on national political lines may well be prefaced by further analysis of their mental attitude toward the unappealable dictum of their prophets.

It has been repeatedly pointed out in preceding chapters that the Saints believe, yes, testify, that they "know" that Joseph Smith, Jr., was a prophet of God; that he was ordained of God to restore the pure gospel of Christ and to establish the rule of the Kingdom of God on earth. It has been proved by abundant quotations from the first prophet's revelations, letters and speeches, and from the writings and sermons of the lesser prophets, that in their temporal and spiritual government the Mormon prophets are supreme.

If, as the prophets and Saints solemnly aver, their church is guided by the revelations of God to the chief prophet, they are entirely consistent in their persistent refusal to obey the laws of men when those laws are in conflict with the laws of the Omnipotent. For that reason, had the Manifesto surrender of the practice of polygamy been sincere, it would have destroyed the very foundation of their faith. It would have been a concession that the will of God is inferior to the will of the people of the United States, and that concession would have been destructive of the foundation of the absolute supremacy of God upon which the superstructure of Mormonism was built. Instead of being guilty of such gross and senseless inconsistency as was apparently involved in the Manifesto surrender, the prophets were guilty of unparalleled deception and unapproachable hypocrisy.

In order that the reader may fully understand the mental and spiritual condition of the Saints, and, therefore, the material from which prospective loyal American citizens were to be made, a brief statement of facts will be given:

In devout Mormon homes the children are taught to pray for the Mormon prophets. They are taught that those men communicate with Jehovah, and their lives are ever held up before them as the loftiest examples for imitation. As soon as the little ones are from four to eight years old they are sent to primary religion classes where they are taught to lisp the "testimony" —"I know that Joseph Smith was a prophet of God," and that "Brigham Young was his legal successor." "I know that the book of Mormon is true," that "it is the word of God." "I know that the other churches are apostate," etc. The same religious formula is continued in the higher "improvement" meetings into which the young Saints are ushered as soon as they are old enough.

When fourteen to fifteen years of age the Mormon youths are ordained to the office of deacons and begin their preparatory "labors" in the priesthood. When eighteen to twenty years of age the young Saints are encouraged to go "through the temple" where they "receive" their "endowments." In the temple they enter into the most solemn covenants to be chaste and moral, and to be obedient to the priesthood. Any Mormon who has been through the temple can testify without incurring the charge of having broken his or her covenants, that the solemn obligations they assume to be obedient to the holy priesthood are so binding and so absolute that, in the very nature of things, they become the subservient slaves of the prophets in everything that pertains to the spiritual and temporal things. That the foregoing assertion is unqualifiedly true is proved by an unwary statement, heretofore quoted, made to the Saints by the present prophet, seer and revelator, Joseph F. Smith, in Provo during the stake quarterly conference of April, 1896. President Smith said:

"The fact of the matter is, when a man says, 'you can direct me spiritually, but not temporally,' he lies in the presence of God; that is, if he has got intelligence enough to know what he is talking about."

And "the fact of the matter is," the men to whom the prophet addressed himself had made the covenant in the "presence of

God," as they were taught to believe, that the Mormon chiefs may direct them "temporally" as well as "spiritually." There is no doubt that President Smith had that oath of implicit obedience in mind when he said those men "lie in the presence of God" when they deny the prophet's right to direct (dictate) them in temporal matters. However much liberty-loving Saints may rebel against that tyrannical dictum of Joseph F. Smith, he was clearly within his rights and entirely consistent. The Saint who denies that right to thus dictate, should resurrender himself body and soul to the slavery implied in the prophet's Provo ultimatum or he should get out of the church in which, as a freeman, he has no right to remain. No Mormon who "has got intelligence enough to know what he is talking about" will deny that his vote is a "temporal thing," and that it is subject to the direction of the Mormon prophets. Nor will the devout Mormon wait for a direct command of the prophets as to how he should cast his vote. If he is a true-blue, dyed-in-the-wool Saint he will require no more than a whisper or hint from his block teacher as to how the "Lord's anointed" want him to vote.

Twice each year the Saints gather from all parts of the United States, from Canada and Mexico, and assemble ten to twelve thousand strong in the great tabernacle in Salt Lake City. The tabernacle is within the shadow of the holy temple in which, perchance, they received their endowments, and entered into those solemn covenants to be obedient to the priesthood in all things. Perchance some of them were sealed to their wives for time and eternity in that revered edifice. Perhaps, therein some of them were sealed to their plural wives for eternity after having been married to them for "time" down in the box canyons of the Colorado River. In that holy edifice many of them, no doubt, "were baptized for their dead" and received endowments for them. With those tender memories sweeping through heart and brain they enter the tabernacle.

With bowed heads the Saints listen to the solemn, almost human, tones of the great organ, and to the almost celestial vibrations of three hundred voices as they rise and fall in marvelous harmony to the music of a favorite anthem. Then comes the invocation—the fervid appeal for the salvation and triumph of the Saints, and the fitting discomfiture of their enemies. Again the thunderous notes of the organ in triumphant melody fill the vast building, thrilling and inspiring the heart of every worshiper. A prophet of the "Lord God of Israel" arises, and in penetrating voice utters the time-honored formula:

"It is moved that we sustain Joseph F. Smith as prophet, seer and revelator, and President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints throughout the world. All those who favor this motion signify it by raising the right hand." Instantly ten thousand hands are raised toward heaven in witness of the absolute sincerity of the owners. The right arms are brought to the position of a square, the same position in which they were held while solemnly covenanting with God to obey the prophets.

Each of the President's two counsellors, and each of the twelve apostles are sustained in like manner, according to their respective offices, while the Saints settle back in their seats with the serene thought in their minds that they have actually been parties to the selection of fifteen prophets who will guard the interest of Zion during six more months, when the fact of the matter is, those ten thousand Saints have had no more to do with the selection of those seers than would ten thousand wooden automatons. To the uninspired onlooker it is a Punch and Judy show on a magnificent scale.

In addition to the semi-annual conference—sustaining of the prophets, they have four extra innings each year in the quarterly conferences of all the stakes of Zion.

Is there any surprise that Latter-day Saints implicitly obey their leaders?

Such was the mental attitude of the Saints at the time of the "division" on political lines in Utah.

Before entering on the political discussion, it will be well to introduce a few of the prophetic actors who will play important parts in the most side-splitting serio-comic drama that has ever been enacted on the vast stage of the world.

George Q. Cannon, first counsellor to President Woodruff, has heretofore been described as an unusually able man. While delegate from Utah to Congress, President Cannon chose the Democratic side of the chamber.

Joseph F. Smith, second counsellor to President Woodruff, was introduced, as a child, in Chapter XXV, in which it was pointed out that the incidents associated with his early life were favorable to the development of a fanatic, but not necessarily of a prophet. A few of his pitiful efforts, pitiful in a prophet—to avoid telling the truth before the Senate Committee, have already been cited; and in the unfolding of his character in the succeeding chapters, it will be readily seen that he grew into the full measure of a fanatic.

Before the Committee on Privileges and Elections Joseph F. Smith posed as a patriot, and to prove that he was eminently entitled to be regarded as a shining example of the loyal and patriotic American, a fragment of a sermon delivered by him in the tabernacle, Salt Lake City, August 10th, 1879, will be quoted. Like others of the prophets, it may be pleaded in extenuation that those were "times of excitement." The United States officials were becoming active in capturing and imprisoning the Saints for polygamy. The United States Supreme Court, the year previous to Mr. Smith's patriotic utterances, had decided that the laws against polygamy were constitutional. Those were the "exciting" incidents that impelled the prophet Joseph F. to voice the following specimen of inspired patriotism:

"We have stood the damned villainy of these scoundrels for thirty years in this Territory—I would sooner live among savages than among these accursed Government officials, and the Government itself is as corrupt as the officials—it is a disgrace among the nations, and will soon be wiped out of existence."

"We don't want any of these damned Government officials among us, and won't have them here any longer. The measure of the iniquity of this Government is full, and we won't stand its interference with our affairs any longer. We can manage our affairs without the assistance of this corrupt Government.

"There is a damnable, dirty, blackguard sheet published in our midst that must be suppressed. It wouldn't be tolerated anywhere else, and by the Almighty God we won't endure it any longer.

"Well then, I want you to get your arms ready—you that

JOSEPH F. SMITH

have them; and you that have none go at once and get good ones and be ready for action."

Thirteen years after the delivery of the foregoing patriotic epic, Joseph F. Smith, along with a dozen or so other prophets, was on his knees pleading for pardon for past offenses, and pledging his "faith and honor" for future good behavior; which pledge he boasted before the Senate Committee of having flagrantly violated by living with five wives and begetting eleven children in thirteen years after entering into that solemn covenant with his Government. In view of his treasonable utterances quoted above, and his self-confessed pledge breaking, why should not Benedict Arnold be forgotten?

As has been already stated, Joseph F. Smith continually poses before his people as a prophet, seer and revelator, and that twice each year in the general conferences, and four times each year in the stake conferences, he is sustained as a prophet, etc., and it will now be in order to prove by Prophet Smith's evidence, under oath, before the Senate Committee, that he is not a prophet.

On page 95, Vol. I, Proceedings before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, Mr. Tayler, counsel for protestants, asked President Smith the following question:

"Has any person except a first president of the church ever received a revelation which was proclaimed and became binding upon the church?"

Mr. Smith: "No, sir."

On page 483 is found the following:

Senator Dubois: "Have you received any revelation from God which has been submitted by you and the apostles to the body of the church in their semi-annual conferences?"

Mr. Smith: "Since when?" (Mr. Smith knew that under the rule of the church, no revelation of his had been submitted to the church until after he became president, and his reply, "since when" was a superfluous act of insincerity or idiocy; especially is that true when the following is considered.)

Senator Dubois: "Since you became president of the church."

Mr. Smith: "No, sir; none whatever."

After further efforts at dodging on the part of Mr. Smith, Senator Dubois finally cornered the slippery prophet thus:

Senator Dubois: "Have you received any individual revelations yourself since you became president of the church, under your own definition even, of a revelation?"

Mr. Smith: "I cannot say that I have."

Senator Dubois: "Can you say that you have not?"

Mr. Smith: "No, I cannot say that I have not."

Senator Dubois: "Then you do not know whether you have received such revelations as you have described, or whether you have not?"

Mr. Smith: "Well, I can say this: That if I live as I should live in the line of my duties, I am susceptible, I think, of the impressions of the spirit of the Lord upon my mind at any time; just as any good Methodist, or any other good church members might be. And so far as that is concerned, I say yes. I have had impressions of the spirit on my mind quite frequently, but they are not in the sense, revelations."

And thus, after President Smith's exalted pretensions to being a prophet, seer and revelator, posing before his people as such, receiving their sustaining votes; he "lets go all holts" and gracefully descends from the vicegerent perch to the humble level of any good Methodist, towards whom the Mormon prophets and missionaries have ever pointed the finger of scorn "because of their having a God without body, parts, or passions," and, "because they have not the authority of the priesthood—merely a form of godliness and deny the power thereof." After that acrobatic feat on the part of President Smith the "good Methodists" will no doubt smile at the value of President Smith's hackneyed "testimony" that he "knows the (Mormon) gospel to be true," which he alleges in the following answer to a question by Chairman (Senator) Burrows. Vol. I, p. 99:

Mr. Smith: "I have never pretended to nor do I profess to have received revelations. I have never said I had a revelation except so far as God has shown me that so-called Mormonism is God's divine truth: That is all."

Therefore, after all the Mormon claims to special revelations, to special authority, religious and political, to exclusive salvation, etc., the present alleged vicegerent of Jehovah gravely swears that his cock-sure certainty, that "so-called Mormonism is God's divine truth," rests on precisely the same foundation of "impressions" as that of "any good Methodist" who is "impressed" that his special formula is the superior creed. (For the purpose of illustration, it is not believed that "any good Methodist" will take any offense at the freedom implied in the foregoing.)

In posing before his people as a prophet, seer and revelator, and his frequent use of the words—"thus saith the Lord" in his sermons to the Saints, Joseph F. Smith brands himself as an arch imposter, or that, before the Senate Committee he lied like Ananias for the purpose of seating a fourth-rate prophet—Reed Smoot—as the representative of the Kingdom of God in the United States Senate.

The next prophet in importance, and the prospective successor to the "kingship" of Joseph F. Smith, is Francis Marion Lyman, president of the Quorum of Apostles. President Lyman has already been referred to as a "booze merchant" in Fillmore in 1866. That was, however, prior to the date of his "repentance," and several years before his exaltation to the apostolate.

Apostle Lyman has many amiable and admirable qualities of mind, and had he kept his nose out of the politics of the Saints, all reference to him would have been gladly omitted.

The first use that can profitably be made of President Lyman is to establish the fact, by his sworn evidence, that he is a pledge breaker. It will be recalled that President Lyman was one of the high signatories to the appeal for amnesty. To prove the value of President Lyman's exalted regard for his plighted "faith and honor," the following is quoted from the proceedings before the Senate Committee, Vol. I, beginning on page 426.

After stating his age, office in the Mormon church, etc., President Lyman answered as follows:

Mr. Tayler: "Are you a polygamist?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Tayler: "How many wives have you?"

Mr. Lyman: "Three."

FRANCIS M. LYMAN

Mr. Tayler: "Are you living with two wives now?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Tayler: "Have you children by both of them?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Tayler: "Have you any children by her?" (the last wife.)

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Tayler: "How many?"

Mr. Lyman: "Five."

Mr. Tayler: "What are their ages?"

Mr. Lyman: "The first was born in 1891; the last was born in 1900."

(Nine years after Apostle Lyman's pledge to obey the law.)

Mr. Tayler: "Were you a signer of the prayer for amnesty?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Tayler: "And in that prayer for amnesty did you pledge yourself to obey the law?"

Mr. Lyman: "I do not remember exactly what the article contained. I pledged myself to all that it says; I have not read it for a long time."

Mr. Tayler: "Did you, as a matter of fact, pledge yourself, by that plea for amnesty, to obedience to the law, not only respecting the taking of plural wives, but the other laws respecting the plural relation?"

Mr. Lyman: "Whatever the article contains I signed."

Mr. Tayler: "In this prayer for amnesty there is this sentence: 'As shepherds of a patient, suffering people, we ask amnesty for them and pledge our faith and honor for their future.' Do you recall that statement?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir, I do."

Mr. Tayler: "Did you interpret that as meaning you would obey the law respecting polygamous cohabitation?"

Mr. Lyman: "I intended to do everything that was right in the observance of the law."

Mr. Tayler: "Did you think that it would be right to abstain from polygamous cohabitation from your plural wife?"

Mr. Lyman: "I think that it would have been right."

Mr. Tayler: "You did not do that, though?"

Mr. Lyman: "No, sir."

Mr. Tayler: "Then you did wrong?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir, according to the law."

Mr. Tayler: "According to the law?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Tayler: "It was wrong according to the church law as well?"

Mr. Lyman: (Imitating the prophet Joseph F. Smith.) "It was wrong according to the *rule* of the church."

Mr. Tayler: "So you violated both laws?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Mr. Tayler: "The law of the land and the rule of the church?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

The Chairman: "I wish to ask you a question right here. You are now continuing in this polygamous relation?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

The Chairman: "And intend to?"

Mr. Lyman: "I had thought of nothing else, Mr. Chairman."

The Chairman: "And you are next in succession to the presidency?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Senator Hoar: "Do you not understand that the revelation (the Manifesto) requiring you to abstain from polygamy comes from God?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

After a lengthy and very likely inspired defense of his pledge breaking—a defense similar to that which any other criminal who promises to obey the law, and has a lapse of memory or conscience, may plead, and in substance precisely the kind of defense entered by his prophetic "file leader," Joseph F. Smith—Apostle Lyman proves the genuineness of his claims to being a prophet, seer and revelator by the following unimpeachable logic:

Senator Dubois: "Are you acquainted with Reed Smoot?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Senator Dubois: "When did he become an Apostle?"

Mr. Lyman: (After examining a paper.) "In 1900."

Senator Dubois: "You voted to make him an Apostle, did you?"

Mr. Lyman: "I voted for him."

Senator Dubois: "In your Apostolic meetings, did Mr. Smoot ever reprove you for living in polygamous cohabitation?"

Mr. Lyman: "No, sir."

The Chairman: "I understand you to say that Mr. Smoot has never, at any of these meetings or in private, questioned your course in regard to polygamous cohabitation?"

Mr. Lyman: "No, sir, it was never mentioned."

The Chairman: "Have you introduced any of your wives to Mr. Smoot?"

Mr. Lyman: "Never."

The Chairman: "You say that Mr. Smoot does not know that you are a polygamist?"

Mr. Lyman: "No, sir."

Senator Hoar: "Do you not think, Mr. Apostle, that in this fact that you are living in polygamy is known to the people in general, as you believe, and yet that, as you believe, it is not known to Mr. Smoot, your associate apostle?"

Mr. Lyman: "I mean that it is generally accepted as a fact. I do not—I perhaps ought not to have said that the people generally know it, but they generally accept it."

Senator Hoar: "Are you not as well known to Mr. Smoot personally and by reputation as to the people in general?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Senator Hoar: "Then, why do you think he knows less about this matter than the people in general?"

Mr. Lyman: "I think he knows just as much as they do."

Senator Hoar: "Do you not think, Mr. Apostle, that in this hearing it behooves you to be a little more careful in your answers, so that in so important a matter you do not have to take back in two or three minutes what you have said? Have you had any revelation or commandment in regard to the testimony you should give in this case?"

Mr. Lyman: "No, sir."

Senator Hoar: "There is no inspiration of that, or any part of it?"

Mr. Lyman: "As to the testimony I should give here?"

Senator Hoar: "As to the testimony you have given or are to give."

Mr. Lyman: "No, I do not know that I have particularly. I came here to answer the questions of the Committee."

Senator Hoar: "But I want to know whether you are answering them under the direction of the Lord, according to your belief, or merely in your human or uninspired capacity?"

Mr. Lyman: "I believe that I shall answer the questions that are asked me as the spirit of the Lord directs me, and truthfully."

Senator Hoar: "Do you mean to say that the spirit of the Lord directs you in your answers here?"

Mr. Lyman: "I believe so."

Senator Hoar: "You believe so?"

Mr. Lyman: "Yes, sir."

Senator Hoar: "Then, in your belief, did the spirit of the Lord direct you to make that answer that you just took back and said 'was a mistake'? Well, if you cannot answer it, I will not press it. That is all."

The Chairman: "That question was not answered."

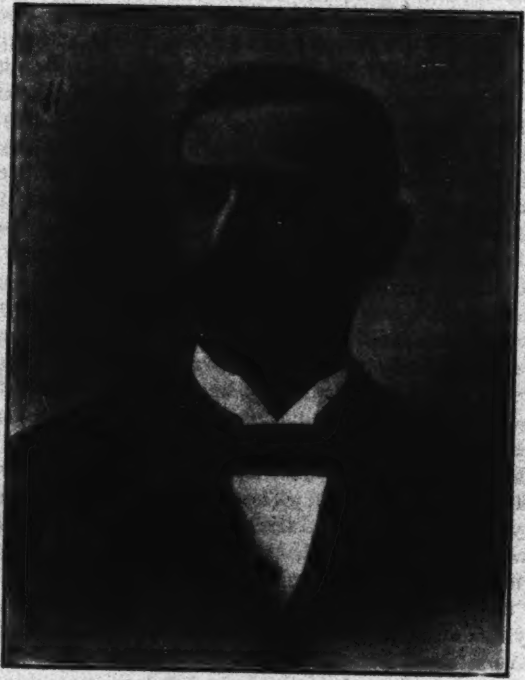
It would be cruel to pursue Apostle Lyman into the hole into which an uninspired United States Senator had forced him, but the pitiful mental collapse of the prophets, in their inspired aid in seating a fourth-rate ambassador of the Kingdom of God in the United States Senate, should be an object lesson to young Mormons.

Apostle John Henry Smith is next in line to Apostle Lyman for the presidency of the church. Apostle Smith is of massive build, has a strong, sympathetic voice, and is an orator. Unlike his cousin, he is not a fanatic or a frothy-mouthed tyrant. Apostle Smith is charitable and benevolent and as broad minded as his implicit faith in Mormonism will permit. Because of "John Henry's" many admirable and lovable traits of character, there is inexpressible regret in forcing him to act his part in an aggregation of intellectual pigmies, Mormon and non-Mormon, who, like the ocean's spume, would not have risen to the surface except by the tumult of the storm that swept Utah soon after the division on political lines. The regret in thus compelling the presence of Apostle John Henry Smith, is found in the fact that the lifting of the curtain on the conspiracy to more completely fasten the theocratic rule on Utah, is as replete with hierarchal duplicity and treachery as that involved in the Manifesto surrender. To the perpetuation of the former priestly despotism, John Henry Smith bent all his admirable qualities of mind, intensified by the unreasoning eagerness of the religious zealot. From a purely Mormon view-point, the passing of decades will not avail to repair the breach embraced in the weakened faith and confidence of the Saints, and if Mormonism were "true," the irreparable wrong that John Henry Smith did to his co-religionists who loved and trusted him. When, too late, Apostle Smith abandoned his treacherous political work, and is now devoting his talents to the spiritual welfare of his people.

Another of the apostolic prophets who essayed a supernumerary part in the political farce, and who, no doubt, was ordained and set apart for the rôle of Democratic clown, was Heber J. Grant. In fact, there are many disgusted Mormon Democrats, and some Gentile Republicans, who believe that the "unterrified" contingent in Utah could afford to "give boot" in the exchange of the Democratic jack-ass, as an emblem, for a cartoon of Apostle Heber J. Grant. The only thing that is necessary to clearly describe the mental traits of Heber J. Grant, is to state that he is a son of Jedediah M. Grant, whose blood-atonement ravings made him conspicuous during the middle fifties.

With the exception of President Wilford Woodruff, whose integrity and admirable simplicity of nature and devotion to his faith have never been questioned, the characters of the chief Mormon prophets from Joseph Smith, Jr., down to and including the present virulent fanatic, Joseph F. Smith, have been shown to be defective.

Lest the reader be misled by the above criticism, it is but just to state that there were many of the old-time apostles, and there are many of them today, whose lives were, and are, above reproach. The only unfavorable criticisms that can be made is that of their abject servility to the dictum of one man whose "thus saith the Lord" compels immediate and unconditional



MOSES THATCHER

surrender, even when their intellects and moral natures assure them that the chief prophet is wrong.

In the presence of such conditions as those just described, there is satisfaction in introducing one whose faith in the Mormon religion is as steadfast as that of any of the apostles, but whose sense of honor, truth and justice halted before the shameless program of perfidy that a coterie of the prophets proposed carrying out as a part of the treacherous conspiracy to obtain statehood for Utah. The man who thus stood for the sacredness of pledges, for honor in politics and a square deal alike for Mormons and Gentiles, was Apostle Moses Thatcher.

Mr. Thatcher was born February 2d, 1842, near Springfield, Sangamon county, Illinois. From his Revolutionary ancestors Mr. Thatcher inherited an unconquerable love of personal freedom, consistent with the rights of others. When fifteen years of age, young Thatcher became identified with the Latter-day Saints, and from that time was active in missionary work, for which his unusual gift as an orator and his personal magnetism admirably qualified him. Mr. Thatcher's oratory is of that quiet, intensely earnest kind that appeals at once to the heads and hearts of men, rather than to their prejudices and passions. President Brigham Young early recognized the sterling qualities of the young orator and raised him to the apostolate, and but for the wretched hypocrisy and political perfidy of some of his brother apostles during the early nineties, he would today be the next in line for the position of church president.

In stature, Mr. Thatcher is about five feet eight inches, of spare build, and the accompanying cut is an excellent likeness.

The reason for the above comparatively extended notice of Moses Thatcher's personality is found in the fact that for several years he was the storm center around whom ecclesiastical bigotry, intolerance, envy and hate, and political passions unceasingly beat in one of the most intensely exciting contests waged in this or any other age.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE PROPHETS' ALL-EMBRACING CONSPIRACY

As before stated in this volume, the declaration in the Republican party's platform of 1860 that polygamy is "the twin relic of barbarism" caused every Utah Mormon of foreign extraction to sympathize with the Democratic party, and the anti-polygamy legislation of 1862 served to intensify the dislike for the Republican party.

There were, however, a large number of native-born Mormons who were simon-pure Democrats notwithstanding the claims of the Mormon leaders to exclusive political control of the world. Those Democrats were principally from the Southern States. There were also many New England Mormons who remained true to their Whig and Republican convictions. But the fact that all the Utah delegates, from Doctor Bernhisel down to John T. Caine in 1888, affiliated with the Democrats in Congress, clearly proves that the Mormon leaders believed that the interests of the Church were safer in the hands of the Democratic party, which, as a national organization, had not manifested any hostility to the Utah Saints.

The social and business intercourse between the Gentiles and the younger Mormons had unconsciously been broadening the views of the latter. They were becoming tired of the bitter warfare between Gentiles and Mormons—a warfare that was a serious obstacle to the development of Utah's unsurpassed mineral resources, and to her advancement in every respect. Those young and ambitious Mormons longed for political freedom; they were heartily tired of the long-time policy of having their civil officers nominated by the Stake presidents and bishops in select priesthood meetings, and unanimously "sustained" at the polls; they were tired of being political ciphers. The restive feeling was exceptionally strong in Provo City. Provo was the judicial headquarters of Judge John W. Judd, an ardent Gentile Democrat from Tennessee, who held his position under Grover Cleveland. Judge Judd became the Democratic leader of a coterie of young and brainy Mormons, several of whom were studying law, while others had been admitted to the bar. Among them were Samuel R. Thurman, since risen to high distinction as an able lawyer; William H. King, who became one of Utah's brilliant representatives in Congress; A. O. Smoot, Jr. (half-brother to Prophet Reed Smoot), a brainy son of the then president of the Utah Stake of Zion; Daniel Houtz, since risen to distinction as an able lawyer; Samuel A. King, also a prominent attorney at law, and a number of other progressive young men. In 1888, those young Mormons effected an organization and gave it the name of the Sage Brush Democracy. Mr. S. R. Thurman accepted the nomination for Congress, and at the ensuing election received 511 votes. Such was the beginning of National politics in Utah. And it can be truthfully stated that in the face of unusual temptations to surrender to politico-ecclesiastical control, the large majority of the then members of Utah's infant Democracy have remained true to their convictions of what constitutes political liberty.

On the threshold of the discussion that is to follow it is well to restate the exact position of the Mormon kingdom of God in its relation to all other governmental organizations, religious and secular.

First. Of all the numerous organizations presumed to represent the soul-saving doctrines of the Almighty, the Mormon formula alone was claimed to comprise all that was necessary to salvation, exaltation and endless progress in the future life.

Second. The sole authority to perform, and to delegate others to perform, the ordinance of baptism for the remission of sins, the laying on of hands for the conferring of the Holy Ghost, the administering of the sacrament, the sealing ordinances for the living and the dead had been conferred on the first Mormon Prophet by the special agents of the Ruler of the universe.

Third. In the very nature of things the exclusive authority in things spiritual must necessarily include a like special and exclusive authority in things temporal. The Mormons are entirely consistent in their claim that progress along spiritual lines is impossible without corresponding progress along temporal lines. The spiritual and temporal are so interwoven in the daily lives of men and women that permanent advancement in one is impossible without a like advancement in the other. Therefore, any man or woman who concedes the exclusive divine right of the chief Mormon prophets to direct in spiritual things must, perforce, concede his unappealable right to direct in temporal things. The Mormon prophet is absolutely right in his claim to divine control, or he is absolutely wrong. There can be no compromise. The Saint who denies that divine right was never thoroughly converted to Mormonism or he has become an apostate. If he concede the spiritual and deny the temporal authority "he lies in the presence of God."

Mormon pulpiteers and writers prate about "ruling by common consent." To utterly disprove that silly allegation let us briefly examine the claims of those same pulpiteers and writers. They allege that God has delegated His authority, temporally as well as spiritually, to one man; that he alone receives revelations for the control of the affairs of His Kingdom. As Jehovah is absolute in the Universe, so must His agent be absolute, under God, in the sphere of action delegated to him. Were there two or more such agents confusion would result. And the Mormon people recognize the truth of the foregoing. Thus it is easily seen that it is entirely within the God-given province of the vicegerent to be a despot. Therefore, the boasted "government by consent" consists of "consenting" to the unappealable dictum of the "Prophet of the Most High God." The revelations teach that doctrine, and consistency demands its acceptance by all Mormons. And that member of the church who denies the absolute authority of God's alleged vicegerent should gracefully sever his connection with the "only true Church of Christ," or he should be summarily kicked out for apostasy. And those leaders of the Mormon Church who deny the absolute prerogatives, as above outlined, of their chief prophet, are themselves apostates or monstrous frauds and hypocrites.

Such were the undeniable conditions that existed during the sixty-one years prior to the pretended division on political lines. And the Mormon who believes that the Mormon chiefs, in 1891, surrendered one iota of that absolute authority, is indeed credulous. And such belief, when intelligently held, involves unpardonable reflection on the sincerity and consistency of their leaders.

It has been repeatedly herein proved that the Mormon prophets when forced to equivocal positions, descended to falsehood and deception, or, in other words, they discarded the impotent authority of their god for the more effective weapons of Ananias.

Under pressure of human laws the Mormon prophets had each year noted the waning power of the author of polygamy. That which their Lord had failed to accomplish by infinite power they proposed to achieve by the trickery and cunning of Satan. Their only means of escape from the "persecutions" that are meted out to criminals of all classes, was the boon of statehood. Under the sacred and constitutional aegis of "State rights" they would, by force of superior numbers, be able to fulfill the commandments of God. Their blatant "impeachments" of the United States for not interfering with the sovereign rights of Missouri and Illinois were forgotten or consistency was ignored. By the use of the grossest frauds and deception they conspired to get from under the authority of the Federal Government and to establish the rule of theocracy under the guise of statehood. Once the rights of statehood had been secured, even under false pretensions, they would be secure from the detested interference of the "corrupt" Federal Government and from the hated law-enforcing dominance of the "damned Government officials." The only way to accomplish that object was to ostensibly divide on political lines. The prophets knew they could depend on their followers to vote as they were desired, for they knew that the highest ambition of the Saints is to see the rule of the Kingdom of God established on the earth, and they believed that its supremacy would be but the beginning of that rule over the Gentiles throughout the world.

The prophets also knew that to have any influence with the law-making power of the United States Utah must be "in harmony" with the dominant political party of the nation. The prophets also knew that the sympathy of the greater part of the Saints was with the Democratic party, and they were thus "out of harmony" with the then National administration. How to bring them into harmony with the dominant political party and not excite the suspicions of the Gentiles was the one great object to be achieved. The prophets noted the avidity with which the Gentiles had swallowed the Manifesto bait—a bait that had been sugar-coated with the implied promise that, along with the surrender of the practice of polygamy, there would pass the rigid rule that the Saints must trade with Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, and that the Saints should be socially and politically free. The prophets fully understood that if one of their number should enter the political arena in behalf of either of the national parties, the Saints would take the hint as to how they were to vote. They knew that the Saints would rely on them for guidance in such an important temporal matter as that of politics.

In the years that followed the division on political lines, Utah Democrats were convinced that a conspiracy, involving a prearranged program of political procedure on the part of the Mormon leaders, had been entered into. The conspiracy could be traced to the Gardo House mansion erected by Brigham Young for his last plural—"Amelia the magnificent"—but the details were meagre. The lips of those who participated were as closely sealed as an Egyptian tomb, or the lips of those who make their exit from the hallowed interiors of Mormon temples. But some five years after the political division, and while moved upon by the spirit of intolerance and vindictiveness towards those who did not endorse his bigotry, and with the stupidity that characterizes his spiritual and secular utterances, President Joseph F. Smith gave the conspiracy away in a priesthood meeting held in Logan on May 8th, 1896. Some of the brethren gave the prophet's belated confession of the conspiracy to the Salt Lake morning papers in which the report appeared on May 10th. Even though the introduction of President Smith's confession of the conspiracy anticipates the conclusion of an intensely interesting story, and prematurely compels the presence of one of the great characters in the ecclesiastical-political drama upon which the curtain is being lifted, its importance at this juncture warrants its insertion. However, before quoting President Smith's confession, it is well to establish the truth of the document and thus disarm the Saints of their principal weapon,—blank denial, which, by long practice, they so skillfully use on every occasion where they believe the evidence is not available.

In no instance has the published confession of President Smith been denied by himself or friends. And as conclusive evidence of its genuineness, it was introduced by the protestants in the Smoot investigation before the Senate Committee (Vol. I, p. 1002), and no attempt was made by the defendant, or his inspired coadjutors, to deny or rebut it. The confession was as follows:

"Joseph F. Smith was the next speaker. He said that Moses Thatcher's attitude all through the political fight in Utah could not be justified; that he had been the one apostle who had refused to *take counsel* as to how the people should be divided up; that the first presidency and all of the twelve but Thatcher had decided upon a *certain policy to get the relief they needed from the Government*; but Thatcher had stood out against them; that he had been opposing his brethren ever since the division on party lines, and had not been *in harmony* with his quorum.

"Joseph F. said further that the meeting called in the Gardo House to consider the advisability of disbanding the People's party was attended by many of the authorities, stake presidents, and leaders of the People's party.

"It was plainly stated at this meeting that men in high authority that believed in *Republican* principles should *go out among* the people, but those in high authority who could not endorse the principles of Republicanism should *remain silent.* Their counsel was obeyed by *all* the apostles and high authorities *except* Moses Thatcher, who talked to the people *contrary* to the *wishes* of his brethren. If it had not been for his condition, Moses Thatcher would have been called to account for his declaration in the Ogden Opera House (here giving Thatcher's declaration of political independence), but if he ever became able he would have to *answer for that* as well as other things they *proposed* to charge against him."

As it is usual to hold important priesthood meetings in which it is desirable to have the attendance of the stake presidents from all parts of Zion during the semi-annual conferences, there is no doubt that the meeting to which President Smith refers was held early in April, 1891.

In the foregoing report of President Smith's speech there are found the outlines of several important policies. The first policy, to which the others are merely incidental, was "to get relief" the Mormons "needed from the Government." That "relief" was merely the opportunity to practice polygamy without any "interference" from the "damned Government officials." As before pointed out, the next move toward that relief after the Manifesto surrender was the dissolution of the People's party and the realignment of the Saints on national political lines. In that division the first object to be attained was the favorable influence it might have on the contemplated prayer for amnesty. The second, and paramount object was statehood, which to all intents and purposes would place Utah under the control of the Mormon priesthood.

With statehood secured and the ultimate power centered in the prophets with their spiritual district and ward heelers in every stake and hamlet in Utah, the remainder would be easy. The prophets could then fulfill the compact they had made with the National Republican Chairman to send Utah into the Union a Republican State. The other consideration in that "holy alliance" was that amnesty be granted and that the efforts for statehood should not be opposed.

By virtue of their political power the prophets could bribe unprincipled politicians to do their bidding; they could control the legislature, the judges, juries, sheriffs and all minor office holders. Their tenure of office would, of course, depend on their subserviency to the holy priesthood. If a county attorney should entertain a complaint for polygamy or unlawful cohabitation, the Saints would see to it that "finis" was written across his political aspirations. The same procedure would be applied to every judge in Utah and in other States which, in the future, the prophets might be able to control.

Such was the program involved in that all-embracing conspiracy, which suggests the only glint of inspiration that has been flashed from Kolob to the Mormon prophets since President Brigham Young in 1857-8 compelled a treaty of peace with the United States.

CHAPTER XXXIV

SAINTS DIVIDE ON NATIONAL POLITICAL LINES—TRUCULENCY OF THE SAINTS—SUBSERVIENCY OF MANY GENTILES

On the tenth day of June, 1891, or about two months after the Gardo House conspiracy, the People's (Mormon) party met and disbanded.

As has already been pointed out, the Mormon people were overwhelmingly Democratic. Notwithstanding that fact, the Saints were so thoroughly devoted to the interest of their church that the sum total of the votes mustered by the "Sage Brush" Democracy was but 511. But with the disbanding of the People's party the more than half century policy of endorsing priesthood nominations for civil offices had, as the Saints believed, passed forever.

Democratic leaders were early in the field and clubs were organized throughout the Territory, in which something like two-thirds of the Saints enrolled.

Republican organizers, also, were not slow in their efforts to organize the Saints. It was soon rumored throughout the land of Zion that Presidents George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, and Apostles F. M. Lyman, John Henry Smith and others of the Twelve had joined the Republican party. The political status of President Woodruff was in doubt, but there were persistent rumors to the effect that he, too, was a Republican. The fact was that President Woodruff in a spirit of fairness did not take the public into his confidence on the subject of his political preferences.

In after years, when too late to be of any benefit to the Utah Democracy, it became known to which party he claimed allegiance. In his quaint, "down-Eastern" words, President Woodruff said to some of his personal friends: "My father was a Dimmycrat, my grandfather was a Dimmycrat, I am a Dimmycrat and my son Owen (an apostle) is a Dimmycrat."

In their proselyting and organizing the Republicans they were not modest in drawing the attention of the Saints to their magnificent political exhibit of prophets, seers and revelators. The presidents of Zion's Stakes, who were present at the Gardo House conspiracy, also cast their lot with the Republican party. Thus was the irresistible influence of the prophets directly and indirectly brought to bear on the Republican end of the Utah political "teeter board." The Saints, however, were drawing their first breath of political freedom, and they were singularly slow in recognizing the "hand of the Lord" in the effort to transform Democrats into Republicans.

A majority of the Saints were densely ignorant of the principles and policies of each of the National parties. Especially was that the truth with nearly every foreign-born Saint whose only source of information was, and is, the semi-weekly "Deseret News," the organ of the church and the mouth-piece of the prophets, and which the majority of them read with the Scandinavian accent. There is not the slightest reflection intended in the last sentence. The fact is, that the Scandinavian Saints who aided in the colonization of Utah were among the best and sturdiest of Utah's pioneers. Among their mixed descendants are found their full proportion of the best and brainiest citizens of Utah. It is the actual conditions that are being discussed. With the nationality of the Saints and the respective principles of either party, this discussion has nothing to do.

Notwithstanding the meagre knowledge of national politics possessed by the average Saint, grave discussions of politics on the street corners, on store platforms, in saloons and other convenient places were frequent and often "red-hot." In fact, the discussions of political questions became epidemic. In the heat of those political controversies life-long friendships were strained to the utmost and frequently severed. On the part of thousands of the more intelligent Democrats there was engendered a feeling of supreme contempt for the intelligence of those prophets, seers and revelators who had allied themselves with the Republican party. As the motives of those prophets in joining the Republican party became more and more apparent the dislike and contempt for them correspondingly increased.

The open denunciation of once revered apostles became so vehement that the prophets were appalled at the storm their duplicity had aroused. The intensity of feeling on the part of some of the brethren was such that they dared to address stinging rebukes to the prophet-politicians for their unparalleled treachery towards their Democratic brethren. It was to one of those letters that President George Q. Cannon referred during the October general conference of 1896, which was reported as follows:

"President Cannon referred to a letter from a president of the Seventies who was at one time prominent in Sunday-school work, in which the writer said the authorities had violated the law of the church, and as men standing self-convicted they were called upon to repent and make amends." This letter, he said, "affords an index of the sentiment that may actuate possibly hundreds." (And with perfect truth President Cannon could have said thousands instead of "hundreds.")

Continuing his remarks President Cannon said:

"Never since the days of Kirtland has there been such a spirit in the church to do this error as has been shown during the last few years. We have almost feared to go to some places, owing to the arraignment of our motives and condemnation of our actions. Yesterday's explanations (the arraignment of Apostle Moses Thatcher) ought to have the effect of making these people, who have been finding fault and condemning unjustly, ashamed of themselves so that they will ask God's forgiveness for having condemned innocent(?) men. People are going to apostatize because of this, if they don't repent."

Had the brethren only known in 1894 that they had some of the "Lord's anointed" political tricksters on the run, the struggle for the separation of church and state in Utah could have been won within the church.

Notwithstanding the eagerness, born of political aspirations and mercenary motives, of some of the Gentiles to disband the Liberal party immediately after the disbandment of the People's party, a large majority of them hesitated. They had felt the lash of traitorous tongues like that of Prophet Joseph F. Smith, who had publicly cursed them. They had writhed under the Mormon boycott, and felt the despotic power of the Mormon priests in a hundred ways. Many of the Gentiles remembered the long struggle for supremacy between the Government and the prophets. Among those whose opportunities for forming correct conclusions was Chief Justice Charles S. Zane of the Utah Supreme Court. In the case involving the dissolution of the corporation known as the Mormon Church in 1887, Chief Justice Zane, among other things, found as follows:

"This corporation, at the time of its organization, embraced nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the Territory, many thousands of people. At the present time it includes probably more than one hundred and twenty thousand, and if in the future people should continue to be gathered from all parts of the globe as they have been in the past, their number at no distant day will reach a quarter of a million. The corporation extends over the whole Territory, including numerous congregations in various localities. At the head of this corporate body, according to the faith professed, is a seer and revelator, who receives in revelations the will of the Infinite God concerning the duty of man to himself, to his fellow beings, to society, to human government and to God. In subordination to this head are a large number of officers of various kinds and descriptions, comprising a most minute and complete organization. The people comprising this organization claim to be directed and led by inspiration that is above all human wisdom and subject to a power above all municipal government; above all man-made laws. These facts belong to history, therefore we have taken notice of them."

In the above the reader has an impartial statement from one whose experience in Utah, and his familiarity with the Mormon people enabled him to form correct conclusions. In fact, his reputation as a jurist and impartial judge were such that the Church-Republican party made him the first Chief Justice of the State of Utah.

In order to minimize the well-founded suspicion that the prophets were not sincere in their division movement, or to entirely disarm the Gentiles of their belief that it was too sudden to be sincere, Presidents Woodruff and Cannon procured an interview with the Salt Lake "Times," since gone out of business. It is an entirely safe assumption that whatever part President Woodruff took in that interview was absolutely sincere. The replies are no doubt in the language of the astute George Q. Cannon.

The "Times" interview of June 23, 1891, or thirteen days after the disbandment of the People's party, was as follows:

"It is asserted that the People's party was dissolved by direction of the Church. Is there any foundation for that charge?"

"The People's party was dissolved, as we understand, by the action of its leading members. They have stated to us their convictions that the time had come for a division on national party lines. There has been a growing feeling in this direction for a long time and the dissolution of the People's party is the result of that sentiment, and not the fiat or instruction of the Church. The first intimation that we had of dividing on party lines came to us from Ogden. There is, therefore, no foundation for the charge that the Church brought about the dissolution of the People's party. The Church does not claim any such right."

"The 'Times' has held that the appearance of Church management of the People's party during recent times resulted purely from the fact that the party was composed almost entirely of members of the Church, with prominent churchmen taking part in the affairs, and that there has not been Church rule as charged. Is this view correct?"

"The 'Times' has correctly stated the facts connected with the appearance of Church management of the People's party. That party, having been composed principally of members of the Church, and self-defense having compelled them to consult together and to decide concerning the best steps to be taken to preserve their rights, some color has been given to the charge that it was a Church party, but this has not been done in a Church capacity. Men have had influence in that party and been listened to according to their experience, and not because of their official position in the Church."

"That being true, are we to understand that the Church will not assert any right to control the political action of its members in the future?"

"This is what we wish to convey and have you understand. . . . As officers of the Church we disclaim the right to control the political action of the members of our body.'

"Will there be any reason why the members of the Church should come together and vote solidly, if political conditions here are similar to those which prevail elsewhere?"

"We cannot perceive any reason why they should do this in the future, *if, as you say, political conditions should exist here as they prevail elsewhere?"*

"Do you understand that it is the wish of the Mormon Church to maintain a separation of church and state with respect to all political questions?"

"However much appearances may have indicated that we have favored a union of church and state, and notwithstanding the many assertions which have been made of this nature, there is no real disposition among the people of our Church to unite church and state; in fact, we believe there should be a separation between the two. But in past times the situation in this Territory was such that officers of the Church were frequently elected to civil office. If the people availed themselves of the best talent of the community, they were under the necessity very frequently of selecting officers of the Church to fill these positions. You must understand that nearly every reputable male member of the Church holds office in the Church. Of course, where the people, as was the case in many localities, were all Mormons, if they elected any of their own members they had to choose men who held positions in the Church. Men were selected for bishops because of their superior ability to care for and manage the affairs of their wards. They were the practical and experienced men of the several communities, and in the estimation of the people were suitable for legislators, etc. Their election to civil office led to the idea that there was a union of church and state."

"Do you believe that it is the wish of the Mormon people to unite with the great national parties and to conduct politics in this Territory as they are conducted in all other States?"

"That is the impression we have received from conversation with the men among us who take the greatest interest in political matters."

"Is there any reason why the members of the Church should not act freely with the national parties at all times?"

"We know of no reason why they should not."

"Is there anything to be gained for the Church by securing political control in Utah with or without statehood?"

"We see nothing to be gained for the Church in this way."

"Is it not true that the members and leaders of the Church desire to place it in a position in the community like that occupied by other church societies?"

"The only protection the Church desires is that which it should obtain under general laws which secure the rights of all denominations. It would be most unwise for the Mormon people to endeavor to secure any advantage not shared in by all other religious people. All that we ask is to have equal rights before the law."

"Is it your understanding that the Mormon people differ as to the Republican and Democratic parties, and that they will act in accordance with their convictions in uniting with those parties?"

"That is our understanding."

"Is it your wish that the Republican and Democratic parties should organize and present their principles to the Mormon people, and that they should unite with them according to their honest convictions?"

"Personally, we have felt that the time would come when the two great parties would organize in this Territory, and we have felt that if an attempt of this kind should be made, each should have the fullest opportunity to lay its principles before the people so that they might have a clear understanding of the issues and be able to decide in the light of facts presented to them, to which of the parties they would belong."

"That being true, could anything be gained by bad faith, even if it should be contemplated by any of the former members of the People's party?"

"Certainly not."

"The opponents of party division on national lines declare that they want evidence of the sincerity of the Mormon people. The 'Times' would ask you to state whether the declarations of sincerity on the part of those leaders who have been before the public reflect your views and meet with your approval?"

"Those declarations express our views and have our entire approval. What greater evidences can be asked than those which have already been furnished? The statement has been repeatedly made that the great objection to us was our belief in and practice of patriarchal marriage. In entire good faith the Manifesto was written, signed by the leading men, and adopted by one of the largest conferences of the Church ever held—a conference composed of fifteen thousand people. It has been asserted in addition, that the people were governed by the priesthood in political matters. This is now disproved by the dissolution of the People's party and the union of its members with the two national parties. What could possibly be gained by the action of the people if they were not sincere? If the elements of sincerity are wanting, such a movement would result in entire demoralization."

The political "demoralization" of the present time irrefutably proves that the last sentence in the foregoing interview contained the only element of sincerity in that labored effort at wholesale deception.

Such were the entirely justified suspicions of apostolic sincerity that the Gentile, or Liberal party, did not disband until after the fall election of 1893 and at which time Judge O. W. Powers and other non-Mormons were elected to the Utah Legislature.

In order to more thoroughly carry out their campaign of deception the prophets claimed that in their pious asseverations that church and state in Utah had been forever divorced, they reserved the saving grace of personal political rights. Their assertion of political rights included the reservation of the right to "go out among the people" and talk politics, which was in harmony with the expressed provisions of the Gardo House conspiracy.

Those prophets knew that the Saints would not, if they could, differentiate between the office of prophet, seer and revelator and that of politician, where the dual rôle was being enacted by the same person. The prophets knew that to the Saints the voice of the prophet-politician would be equivalent to the voice of God commanding them to cast their votes for the "welfare of Zion."

The prophets knew that the highest ambition of the Saints is to see the temporal and spiritual triumph of the Mormon Kingdom of God, and the prophets also knew that the Saints look to them for counsel and instruction pertaining to all matters for their guidance in things temporal whenever those temporal matters have aught to do with the Church.

There were many Gentiles who failed, until too late, to grasp the fact that the prophets' reservation of inspired political rights was loaded. There were a few who scented danger and warned the people of the consequences of prophetic political interference. There were other Gentiles, spineless sycophants, who realized the danger, but who saw in that reservation of political rights an opportunity for political preferment by toadying to the prophets, and tumbled over each other in their efforts to get "into harmony" with the Mormon leaders. Among the class just mentioned was Pat. Lannan, the then owner and manager of the Salt Lake "Tribune." Theretofore, in the estimation of Joseph F. Smith, the "Tribune" had been a "dirty, black-guard sheet," but after its abject surrender that blatant prophet, so it was reported, "could not sleep without a copy of it under his pillow." The Saints were also encouraged to subscribe for the "Tribune," and Mormon merchants, especially Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, suddenly developed great anxiety to advertise their wares in the theretofore "dirty black-guard sheet." A sample of the "Tribune's" lack of apprehension of the "true inwardness" of that reservation of political rights, or a specimen of its servility, is herewith reproduced:

"*To make it clear, if Apostle John Henry Smith or President George Q. Cannon or President Woodruff pleases to go to the members of the Legislature and say: 'If I were in the Legislature I would not vote for Mr. Thatcher, because he has needlessly antagonized the religion in which we believe,' that would be a man's right, the same as it is Mr. Thatcher's right to be a candidate, notwithstanding his church troubles."

As a matter of course Republican Saints were not only willing but anxious to accept the political aid of the prophets, which they foresaw would soon put them in permanent control of Utah; while Democratic Saints and Gentiles opposed prophetic interference because they knew that it would soon relegate them to the rear in Zion's political procession.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE PROPHETS IN POLITICS—APOSTLE JOHN HENRY SMITH—IN THE PULPIT AND ON THE STUMP—AIDS EX-GOVERNOR MURPHY OF ARIZONA

Among those who early and often visited the Mormon towns and villages in quest of Republican converts was Apostle John Henry Smith.

Except as to the omission of singing psalms, prayers and the administering of the sacrament, there was little difference between the Sabbath meetings held by Apostle John Henry Smith and the political meetings by "Hon." John Henry Smith. If, as it often happened in his political missionary labors, Politician John Henry Smith was distant from the railroad, and it was the Sabbath day, Apostle John Henry Smith would be present at the services of his church.

In words of impassioned eloquence Apostle Smith would tell the Saints of the early persecutions that were the results of having embraced the only and true everlasting gospel revealed by Joseph Smith the Prophet. Perhaps some afflicted brother or sister required apostolic administration for his or her health. Apostle Smith, assisted by the ward Bishop and his counsellors, would anoint the afflicted one with holy oil, then, "in the name of Jesus of Nazareth," the revered Apostle, agent and vicegerent of Almighty God would bless the stricken Saint, and "by virtue of the holy priesthood vested" in him would "rebuke the disease and command it to depart." After the meeting each devout Saint would regard it as a spiritual honor to clasp hands with the revered prophet, seer and revelator for whom they had prayed that morning, and for whom, including the other prophets, they would again pray before retiring for the night.

Very likely, during several days preceding the Sabbath meeting, the town, village or hamlet had been placarded with Republican posters announcing that "Hon. John Henry Smith will speak on the Republican issues of the campaign, at the meeting house, October —, 1891," or 1892, as the case might be. If the rally were in Wales, Sanpete County, the good Bishop of the ward, who was also the political adviser of his flock, would introduce "Hon. John Henry Smith" in substantially the following words:

"My beloved brethren and sisters: We have with us this evening brother (perhaps Apostle) John Henry Smith, who will talk to us on the doctrines of Republicanism. You have been told many times, my brothers and sisters, that Democracy is hypocrisy, and that Republicanism is Mormonism."

If the reader is able to add the broad Welsh accent of the good Bishop, the realism of the introductory remarks will be complete.

The Hon. John Henry Smith would then inform his expectant auditors that he had left his apostolic mantle at home; that he appeared in politics as plain Citizen John Henry Smith. But devout Saints could see not the slightest difference between the revered Apostle who, perchance, the previous day had been teaching them the doctrine of Him crucified, and healing, or blessing the sick in the name of Jesus, and Citizen Smith, the lying politician. It was the same imposing form, the same sonorous voice, the same fervid eloquence. To the Saints assembled in those political gatherings it was Prophet-Seer-and-Revelator John Henry Smith who was speaking, and he was talking inspired politics. If, thought the Saints, the Lord's holy prophets are talking, writing and preaching Republicanism, surely that is the way they want us to vote. To the great majority of the really devout Saints, the doctrines taught by Honorable John Henry Smith were inspired politics—just what the Lord himself wanted as a means of redeeming Israel from the unholy bondage of the Gentiles, and from the persecutions of the "cursed Government officials."

Citizen Smith's arguments or reasons why the Saints should join the Republican party consisted principally in claiming that the Republican party was the friend of the Latter-day Saints; and, per contra, that the Democratic party was the arch enemy of the Church and Kingdom of God on earth. A few samples of the prophet-politician's arguments are herewith given. Wherever the Saints were largely foreign-born, Citizen Smith would round off one of his fervid perorations by shrieking: "The skirts of Democrats reek with the blood of the prophets." (Joseph and Hyrum Smith, of course.)

In other localities where Citizen Smith thought the Saints prided themselves on the size, if not the texture, of their brains, he would gravely assure his enraptured auditors that "Democrats have their only advantage over the Republicans in that they can take off their shirts without unbuttoning their collars."

In Mt. Pleasant, Citizen Smith's chief argument was that all Republicans are great financiers, and that you "may always know Democrats by the fact that they all wear overalls." And so far as Mormon Democrats were concerned, Citizen Smith's reflection in the matter of wearing overalls was entirely true—they were tithe-payers, and at that time they were paying at least three-fifths of Apostle John Henry Smith's salary for the time he spent in abusing them.

In Millard County, Citizen Smith captured a large number of theretofore Democrats by the "old dog Tray" argument, or that a man is known by the company he keeps. He said: "I will not say, as others have said, that all Democrats are horse thieves, but I will say that all horse thieves are Democrats."

In nearly every one of his political harangues, Citizen Smith, after working himself up to the proper climax, would refer to Abraham Lincoln as the father, and almost the founder, of the Republican party. At the mention of the name of the martyr-idol of his country, the Saints knew it was time to applaud. And it is believed that the Saints generally were sincere. But there were those among Citizen Smith's listeners whose minds harked back to that fateful March in 1865, when the news of the nation's irreparable loss was flashed to Utah, and how the Saints, in awed voices, said to each other: "'Tis the judgment of God on Abraham Lincoln because of his threats to exterminate the 'twin relic of barbarism'"—polygamy. They also remembered how the same sentiments had been thundered from a hundred Mormon pulpits; and how the death of Lincoln had been held forth as an evidence of God's vengeance, and of the divine truth of Mormonism.

By nature Apostle John Henry Smith is a most lovable and loving man, and in the campaign for votes his affection for his brethren became a most effective agency in his holy calling of political proselyter. His good right arm was often seen around the waist of an obdurate brother, while in soft, purring tones Apostle-Hon. John Henry Smith would plead for a Republican vote "for the welfare of Zion." So frequent and persistent were Apostle Smith's political embraces that they became known among Mormon and Gentile Democrats as the "John Henry hug."

Before closing this brief reference to Apostle John Henry Smith's personal activity in politics, it is well to notice his political interference in matters in Arizona, the third important stronghold of Mormonism.

The Territory of Arizona was largely colonized by the overflow of the Saints from Utah. To a great extent those Arizona Saints had responded to "missionary" calls to that land of hot sands, cacti and reptiles. It was, and is, a part of the political policy of the Mormon chiefs to colonize adjoining Territories and States with the object ever in view of controlling them politically by holding the balance of power. And, thus, by political bribing and bulldozing, compel Gentile office-seekers to do the bidding of the prophets on pain of political oblivion.

The following circular letter, copies of which were circulated in every Mormon precinct of Arizona during the campaign of 1894, will serve to illustrate the inspired political work of the prophets outside of the Utah land of Zion:

"GOVERNOR MURPHY'S TRUE POSITION

"Salt Lake City, Sept. 27th, 1894.

"Mr. P. C. Merrill,
"Thatcher, Graham County, Arizona.

"Dear Friend:

"I have a communication from Ex-Governor Murphy, giving me notice of his nomination by the Republicans for Congress. I am personally acquainted with Mr. Murphy, and in my visits some years ago to Arizona, seeking to prevent the passage of the test oath, received from Mr. Murphy very fair treatment and a *promise to cease his anti-Mormon efforts.* I believe he has fulfilled his promise. Not being posted as to whom is your county committee, I write to you asking this favor, trusting that you will bring to bear such influence in his behalf as in your judgment may be legitimate and proper. So far as lies in your power, I suggest, as your brother Republican, that the most determined effort be made to hush all recriminations over the doings of the past, and that every man who is a Republican use his influence to bring about the success of the grand old party. I know we can count upon you to do what you regard as right in this matter. I trust you are in good health, and that good peace and love reigns within your borders. I don't know when I shall be with you again. I am,

"Your friend and brother,
"JOHN HENRY SMITH."

"Solomonville, Arizona, Oct. 31st, 1894.

"I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of a letter received by me from John Henry Smith.

"P. C. MERRILL."

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 31st day of October, A. D. 1894.

(Seal) "BURWELL B. ADAMS,
"Clerk of the District Court."

From Apostle Smith's letter to President P. C. Merrill it is learned that Governor Murphy had been active in his efforts to compel obedience to the United States laws against polygamy, which Apostle Smith calls "his anti-Mormon efforts." And it should be remembered that as Governor Murphy's "efforts" to enforce the law against polygamous Saints were subsequent to the issuance of the Manifesto, he was merely doing his best to aid the Saints in keeping the solemn promise they had made to their Government.

With singular stupidity, or brazen effrontery, Apostle Smith tells how, on his visit to Arizona to "prevent the passage of the test oath," he interviewed Governor Murphy, and received from him a "promise" to betray his oath of office in that he would cease his efforts to enforce the law against polygamy. Whether or not the prophet bribed Governor Murphy by promises of future inspired political aid, or bulldozed him by threats of Mormon political vengeance, is immaterial. The fact remains that, thereafter, Governor Murphy was a chattel of the Mormon priesthood; that he, like scores of Utah Gentiles, was the abject slave of the Mormon priests. And in the face of the damning evidence disclosed in Apostle John Henry Smith's letter to President P. C. Merrill, the Mormon chiefs are continually lying "in the presence of God" by denying that they interfere in the political matters of the people.

In his efforts to reward his slave, Governor Murphy, Apostle John Henry Smith advises President Merrill to use all his "power" to "hush all recriminations over the doings of the past," to the end that "Ex-Governor Murphy" might receive the stipend of political reward that had been agreed upon as the price of his surrender to an alien religio-politico government.

The words "Republican," "legitimate and proper," "right," etc., as used in Prophet Smith's letter, are but thin disguises of the apostolic counsel that appears between each line of the entire document. And the words, "Your friend and *brother,*" clearly reveal the priestly authority behind the missive. And the evidence is conclusive that "Ex-Governor Murphy," like scores of Utah Gentiles, had appealed to the Mormon priests for divine aid in his campaign for Congressional honors.

President P. C. Merrill was apprehensive that Mormon Democrats would regard the Smith letter as a political hoax, or his swearing to its divine authenticity proves that his reputation for truth and veracity was heavily discounted among the Arizona Saints.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE PROPHETS IN POLITICS

(APOSTLE FRANCIS M. LYMAN)

Apostle Lyman was present at the Gardo House conspiracy, and with his usual zeal for dark-lantern policies was, no doubt, first and foremost with his endorsement of the holy alliance to "fool the Gentiles."

The Gardo House conspiracy, as before stated, took place early in April, 1891. The People's party disbanded on the tenth day of the following June. And that Apostle Lyman lost no time in his efforts to perform his full share of the work of carrying out the terms of the conspiracy, is proved by his presence at a priesthood meeting in Beaver City, about two hundred miles south of Salt Lake City, on June 22d, or some twelve days after the disbandment of the People's party.

In a general way, Apostle Lyman subsequently denied his gum-shoe efforts to convert Democrats to Republicanism and there will be no surprise on the part of those who know the slippery prophet in his efforts to dodge the truth.

The evidence of Apostle Lyman's pious duplicity is in the form of an affidavit by J. F. Tolton, of Beaver City, Beaver County, Utah. The part that Apostle Lyman enacted in carrying out the provisions of the Gardo House conspiracy can be justly entitled, "Heaven-inspired deception." At the time of making his affidavit, Mr. Tolton was a prominent resident of the Beaver Stake of Zion, and a man of unquestioned veracity and honor. He withdrew from the fight against church dictation in politics, and has risen to the important position of First Counsellor to the President of the Beaver Stake of Zion. He is also a leading merchant and large land-owner in Beaver City and neighborhood, and has served his Church with distinguished ability as a Democratic member of the Utah Legislature. At no time has Mr. Tolton denied the truth of any of the allegations set forth in his sworn statement, which is as follows:

"County of Beaver, } ss.
"Territory of Utah, }

"J. F. Tolton, of Beaver City, Beaver County, Utah, being first duly sworn, on oath says:

"That on or about the twenty-second of June, A. D. 1891, he was present at a private priesthood meeting held in Beaver City, Utah, at which there were present Apostles F. M. Lyman and Abraham H. Cannon; also representatives of the stake presidencies of the following stakes, to wit: Beaver, Panguitch, Kanab, Parowan and Millard.

"That said meeting was called and presided over by the said Lyman, ostensibly for the purpose of dictating in matters political. Said Lyman then and there stated that he had convened said meeting for the purpose of talking politics. He then inquired, addressing himself more particularly to M. L. Sheppard—'how is it that so many of you leading brethren in Beaver are Democrats?' He then resumed by saying: 'This is not as it should be. The authorities desire that the people should divide themselves about equally between the two great national parties; and, he said, it would be proper for some to remain independent or neutral—that the object in such a division is that we will then have more power in the nation, and get a more honest administration from the party in power. Each party will then cater to us in order to secure control of the Territory.' He further stated that it was desired that brethren who had not taken any active part in the discussion of politics, or who had not openly declared themselves Democrats, should ally themselves with the Republican party.

"Deponent further avers that while said Lyman was thus speaking, Apostle Cannon endeavored to restrain the speaker by saying:

"'Brother Lyman, *don't go too far*,' and then placed his hands upon said Lyman by way of restraint.

"J. F. TOLTON.

"Subscribed and sworn to before me this 29th day of October, A. D. 1895.

"R. MAESER,
"Notary Public.

"My commission expires July 21st, 1896."

Had not Apostle Abraham H. Cannon, wiser by far than his companion, "restrained" Apostle Lyman, he would doubtless have continued as follows:

"Brother Sheppard, you were born an honest Democrat. That would have been all right had not you received the Gospel as revealed by the Prophet Joseph, and had you remained in Babylon. But you have come out of the world, and your first and only allegiance now is to the Kingdom of God. You, and others of the presidents of the stakes of Zion, seem to have taken the division on National political lines too seriously. And there are thousands of the rank and file of Latter-day Saints who are in the dark regarding the aims and objects of that division; and if you continue to place your politics before your religion, and thus create strife and division among the Saints, you will apostatize and be eternally damned. Some of you appear to desire to thrust aside the holy priesthood in the matter of nominations. Brethren, that is all wrong. The ancient order is to have your civil officers selected in the priesthood meetings where the spirit of the Lord abounds, and where good and obedient men can be selected—men who will magnify their offices in the interest of Zion—men who will cheerfully pay an honest tithe on their salaries.

"It is just as easy now, as before the political division, for the priesthood to select the candidates. For instance, before each campaign begins, the president of each stake of Zion should call a meeting of the bishops and their counsellors and other brethren who can be trusted. The apostles will send you advance information as to the political party you are to support, and we will be careful not to require political changes to be made with such suddenness as to excite the suspicions of our enemies, the Gentiles. No matter whether it be Democrats or Republicans who are to be elected as candidates, God's holy priesthood has the divine right to choose them. In the selection of candidates, give a few Gentiles a chance, but be sure to elect those who will be subservient to the will of the priesthood—men who will be willing to swear from sunrise to sunset, and during every hour of the night, that there is no such thing as Church domination. No matter if they do lie about it, they have rejected the gospel and are damned anyhow. If you see a sign of wavering in them, just give them the 'Klondyke' shake at the next election, and, like calves, they will soon return for their milk. You know, my brethren, and especially the President of the Parowan Stake of Zion knows, that I know something about calves, especially Mavericks. That is all in the past; I have repented, and you will excuse the digression. In the selection of candidates it will be well to occasionally choose a brother weak in the faith, that is, one who has not lived his holy religion closely; and once in a great while let an apostate calf into the cow pen—not often though—and this policy will prove to the Gentiles that we are honest in our politics.

"After the candidates have been carefully selected, the bishops can return to their respective wards where they and their counsellors will call meetings of the teachers and report the decisions of the stake presidents. In the weekly rounds of the teachers they can labor with the independent contingent to which I have referred, and in that way Zion will get the votes she needs to carry out the policies of the leading priesthood who are the captains and pilots that are steering the good ship Zion out from the breakers into which the authors of the infamous Edmunds and Edmunds-Tucker laws have forced this people. By the way, it will not be necessary for the teachers to labor with the Republican voters, for it has been decided by the holy men of Israel that, for the time being only, brother Sheppard, Utah must be Republican in appearance.

"I see by the expression of brother Tolton's face that my talk doesn't please him. But, brother Tolton, you must sacrifice, temporarily, your worldly democracy for the welfare of Zion. What is the world to us? Why, according to the words of the Prophet Joseph, the Saints will soon own and control the world; and there will be no politics—just the government of the holy priesthood as it used to be in Utah before the corrupt Gentiles came into our midst.

"For the benefit of some of you Democratic brethren like President Sheppard—brother Tolton, raise your face so I can look into it—I will read you an extract from the 'Times and Seasons,' Vol. III, page 651, and which will illustrate the God-like wisdom the Prophet Joseph exercised in political matters. In an open letter to the Saints in Illinois, the Prophet said:

"'The partisans of this country who expect to divide the friends of humanity and equal rights, will find themselves mistaken. We care not a fig for Whig or Democrat; they are both alike to us; but we shall go for our friends, our tried friends, and the cause of human liberty, which is the cause of God. Snyder and Moore are known to be our friends—we will not be justly charged with the sin of ingratitude. They have served us and we will serve them.'

"That was the policy then and it is the policy now. And, my brethren, it will continue to be the policy of the Lord's people. We have added a little to the mode of carrying out that principle. Joseph's experience has taught us that it is unwise to be too frank and candid with our enemies. We have begun early to hoodwink our enemies in our political policies. Yes, brother Tolton, the Lord does approve our deception in this and other policies where the advancement of his Kingdom is at stake; and if you don't cease your opposition to the priesthood in our political policy, you will apostatize. But if you will fall into line and follow your file leader, you will be blessed with houses, lands and merchandise, and you will be rewarded with exalted positions in politics and in the Church and will inherit eternal life in the world to come.

"Brother Tolton was not at the Gardo House conference when it was agreed among the Lord's anointed that President Joseph F. Smith, John Henry Smith, myself and a number of the lesser brethren who were willing to talk Republicanism, should do so; while the brethren who could not endorse Republican principles were to remain silent. Brother John Henry was set apart to take the stump; brother Joseph F. was appointed to issue such tracts on Republicanism as 'Another Plain Talk' to aid in the compilation of the 'Nuggets of Truth,' and other work of like character for which he is so well fitted. I was set apart to go quietly among the Saints and plead for votes for the welfare of Zion, and there is no one who can say that I am not zealous in the performance of that mission. The Lord has inspired me to the extent that no one will be able to say that I failed to secure Democratic votes for the Republican party when I go after them. Brother Tolton is about the only real failure that I have thus far made. Apostle Heber J. Grant was set apart to occasionally be seen at Democratic meetings, and to talk once in a while. The reason for brother Heber J.'s selection was because he doesn't know anything about politics and cares less. He can't do the Republicans any harm, and his presence at Democratic meetings will aid us in hoodwinking the Gentile Democrats and those of the Mormon Democrats whom we cannot trust with Church secrets.

"Apostle Moses Thatcher is the only one of the Twelve who refuses to be bound by the Gardo House decision. If brother Moses continues to take the division on party lines seriously, and continues to oppose the brethren, we will prefer some kind of charge against him, and by relieving him of his apostleship, will thus destroy his influence with the Saints. The Lord has decreed that no sincere Democratic apostle shall teach politics, or run for office until Utah shall be made solidly Republican, or until such time as there is unmistakable evidence that the Democrats will be in permanent control of this nation.

"Now, my brethren, some of you will no doubt want to know why we have adopted this political policy of which I have been speaking. I will tell you.

"Under the pressure of the bigoted and usurping Government of the United States, we were compelled to issue the Manifesto suspending plural marriages. Any member of our church who believes we have abandoned polygamous marriages, and living with our plural wives, hath not the spirit of God abiding in him. The Almighty gave that commandment to us and we must obey it or be damned.

"We were under the strong hand of the Government and had to get out somehow. The issuing of the Manifesto was merely a part of the programme the prophets of God had agreed upon.

"There was, and is, continual danger that the Congress will pass an act for a constitutional amendment prohibiting polygamy. If that were done, the people of the United States would vote unanimously for the amendment. You know the sectarian bigots are continually howling about the purity of the home.

Why, my brethren, if the laws now in existence protecting the 'purity of the American home' were rigidly enforced, the preachers would be hurling their pious anathemas at us from within the walls of the penitentiaries, and there wouldn't be enough Congressmen out of prison to pass any anti-polygamy legislation.

"But, to return to the subject. If the Congress should pass such an amendment as that to which I have referred, it could never be rescinded, and the Lord's purposes would be defeated. We could never, in the words of brother Brigham, 'force polygamy down their throats' and compel them to say 'it is good.' In order to head off anti-polygamy amendments we must have our rights which mean statehood for Utah. And then to keep it headed off, we must have influence with the Senate of the United States.

"When we get statehood we will have two Senators. You know the Senate is numerically weaker than the House, and can be bribed more easily by political influences. In order to obtain statehood we must divide on national party lines, and in order to have any influence in politics, we must be in harmony with the dominant political party; they will then, as I said before, 'cater' for our votes. Politics with us is a matter of quid pro quo, that is, something for something.

"Now, my brethren, you can understand why the priesthood asks you to sacrifice your Democratic principles on the sacred altar of expediency, and in which Joseph the Prophet was our great exemplar. Why, bless your honest hearts, our former enemies, the Gentiles, are now fawning on us—cringing for political favors. Rich bankers who hope to go to the United States Senate, eminent editors, lawyers, doctors, railroad magnates and others, instead of denouncing us, are crawling on their bellies in the hope that they will receive political favors ranging all the way from dog-catcher to Senator. My brethren, while I am on a still hunt for votes for the welfare of Zion, those deluded fools are shouting themselves hoarse with the cry, 'there is no such thing as Church interference in politics in Utah.'

"You know that we are colonizing Idaho, Wyoming and Nevada with our people, and you know that we have Arizona solid.

Each of those States has two Senators; and when Arizona is admitted into the Union, that will put ten Senators under the control of the church. When that is accomplished, we will hold the balance of power in the highest law making body on earth. There will then be no anti-polygamy amendment to the Constitution. Even presidential candidates will cater to the twenty or thirty church-controlled electoral votes, and the Saints can then demand all kinds of favors, even the practice of polygamy with impunity. And, in a close election, we could sell our electoral votes for a sum sufficient to build the temple in Jackson County, Missouri.

"Do you suppose for a minute that if we had abandoned polygamy, we would care how many anti-amendments were passed?

"Now then, brother Tolton, cheer up. Remember that Israel's God approves of the innocent deception we are now practicing. All that the Saints need to do is to obey counsel, ask no questions; Zion will be redeemed and God's purposes realized.

"God bless you all. Amen."

Apostle Lyman's ecclesiastico-political work in Beaver was barely the beginning of his inspired proselyting, and during the ensuing two years, or until Utah was well under control of the vicegerents, Apostle Lyman continued his still hunt for Republican votes. Whenever convenient, his presence was added to the imposing array of prophets, seers and revelators usually on exhibition at conventions, rallies, etc.

In a priesthood meeting similar to that held at Beaver, Apostle Lyman requested the Democratic brethren of St. George, Utah, to rise to their feet. It was an almost unanimous rising for Democracy. The Apostle then asked the Republicans to rise and three brethren responded. Brother Lyman, in substance, then said: "Brethren, this will not do. There are too many Democrats in St. George. We want this political division as nearly in the middle as we can make it." And, raising his hand, tilted it from left to right, indicating his desire to have the political weight so adjusted that a few ounces of ecclesiastical influence on either end of the political teeter-board would tip the welfare-of-Zion end of it downward in obedience to the will of the prophets.

That Apostle Lyman adopted Apostle John Henry Smith's tactics of individual political conversions is proved by the following:

"Fillmore, Utah, October 28th, 1895.

"On the day that William King, father of Judge King, was buried at Fillmore, Utah, Apostle Francis M. Lyman called at my residence, Fillmore, Millard County, Utah. After some conversation he invited me to walk with him, which I did. We walked along Main street northward for some considerable distance. During the same time Apostle Lyman conversed freely upon the political outlook and the prospects for obtaining statehood for Utah. Among other things he remarked: 'Your brother, Joshua Greenwood, is a staunch Democrat, and it is only right that you should be a Republican, as it is hardly fair that you both should be on the same side of the fence.' Continuing: 'We will never get statehood unless we get more Republicans in Utah, and, in fact, Zion needs it.'

"ALMA GREENWOOD."

The incident by which Mr. Greenwood fixes the time of Apostle Lyman's effort to convert him from Democracy, occurred early in 1892. At that time Mr. Greenwood was Superintendent of Sunday Schools in the Millard Stake of Zion. His veracity has never been questioned, nor has Apostle Lyman ever denied the accuracy of the Tolton affidavit or the truth of Alma Greenwood's statement, by which Apostle Lyman stands convicted of political treachery, as he has been self-convicted of polygamous treachery, and all for the "welfare of Zion."

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE PROPHETS IN POLITICS (PRESIDENT JOSEPH F. SMITH)—BEGINNING OF THE FIGHT AGAINST APOSTLE MOSES THATCHER

Joseph F. Smith, as a boy of six or seven years of age, was introduced as the son of Hyrum Smith, one of the Carthage-jail martyrs of 1844. Again in 1879 Joseph F. Smith was introduced as a full-grown man (physically), who cursed the "damned Government officials," and who asserted that the "Government (of the United States) is as corrupt as its officials. It is a disgrace among the nations, and will soon be wiped out of existence." He was again introduced as one who endorsed the Manifesto surrender of polygamy. He was also introduced as one of the signers of the petition for amnesty. Again he was introduced as a witness in the Reed Smoot investigation in Washington, D. C., and during which he confessed that he had "preferred taking his chances" of punishment rather than to keep the solemn compact he had made with President Benjamin Harrison. By his own testimony he was also introduced as one who preferred to gratify his purely human passions rather than to obey the laws of God—his own God, and the laws of his country and State. In 1896 Joseph F. Smith was introduced as one of the prophets who asserted that whenever a Saint denies the right of that monumental traitor, religious fanatic and pledge breaker to direct him spiritually and temporally, that Saint "lies in the presence of God." He has also been introduced as a party to the Gardo House conspiracy to obtain statehood for Utah under false pretenses. It is with real pleasure that Prophet-Seer-and-Revelator Joseph F. Smith is now introduced as an inspired politician, an alleged vicegerent of God, seeking by the most contemptible methods to exchange the authority of the Government of the United States for the alien government of the Mormon priesthood over a territorial subdivision in which there were thousands of men and women who were not voluntary subjects of the Mormon "Kingdom of God."

This subjugation of the Gentiles was to be accomplished by unparalleled trickery and deception. Joseph F. Smith can also be fittingly introduced as one of the most vindictive, treacherous, conscienceless and unrelenting despots that have ever disgraced the image of his Maker. By his own words he has been proved a traitor to his country and his country's laws. From his sworn testimony he stands convicted of pledge breaking and law breaking. By his own statements he is self-convicted of conspiracy to overthrow the authority of his Government, and to substitute therefor an alien despotism in Utah under the disguise of the government of a God who, if he were really a party to the crimes of lying, wholesale and stupid deception practised by the Mormon prophets, would be beneath the contempt of Judas Iscariot.

Not only is Joseph F. Smith a traitor to his country, but he hates every man with undying animosity who would be loyal to those ideals of truth, honor and patriotism to which he, himself, has been so conspicuously false.

There was one among the apostles who believed in the sincerity and sacredness of the Manifesto surrender, the prayer for amnesty and the division on national political lines. He was not present at the Gardo House conspiracy, and when he afterwards learned of the deception involved in that secret conclave of "holy traitors," refused to be bound by its terms. For his loyalty to truth, honor and patriotism, and to his God, Moses Thatcher was hounded by Joseph F. Smith and others of the prophets. No stone was left unturned to discredit Apostle Thatcher in the estimation of his people by charging him with being "out of harmony with his quorum" (a distinguished honor), and with being an apostate at heart. During five years the prophets attempted to disguise the real cause of their attacks on Apostle Thatcher. Hints, innuendoes and vicious reports were secretly circulated among the Saints, which were assigned as the real cause for Moses Thatcher's "lack of harmony with his quorum." The actual cause of his offending was, however, because he could not indorse the terms of the Gardo House conspiracy, and because he was the one apostle that "refused to take counsel as to how the people should be divided up politically." Apostle Thatcher's attitude in the matter of apostolic participation in politics can best be stated in his own words as given in his testimony before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections (Proceedings, Vol. I, page 941):

"I had personally apprehended a good deal of trouble in Utah in respect of political matters pending the division of the Liberal and People's parties and having that in view, I formulated a document something like this. Of course I shall not use the exact words; I am quoting from memory."

The Chairman: "You have not the original document?"

Mr. Thatcher: "No, sir, I have not."

The Chairman: "Proceed."

Mr. Thatcher: "But it was substantially as follows:

" 'Whereas, the members of the Mormon Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Utah compose the majority of the citizenship; and

" 'Whereas, over the discussion of the political matters there are liable to arise acrimonious discussions leading to criminations and recriminations, alienations, heartburnings, and the breaking up of long established friendships; Therefore, be it

" 'Resolved, That no member of the first Presidency, or of the Twelve Apostles, or of the Seven Presidents of the Seventies shall engage in partisan politics at all, but shall hold themselves aloof, always ready to pour the oil of the Gospel upon the troubled political waters as they may be in the future.'

"As you will see, in the correspondence to which I refer and in the rule also, I think, there is a direct reference to this subject. It may therefore be understood that that was held by those whom I have mentioned as being a rule that would be well to follow; but subsequently pressure, no doubt, on the part of the two political parties was of such a nature as to make it almost impossible to remain in the status; and the rule, whether by permission or otherwise, of those who had—I will not call it a rule, but the idea advanced—was gradually passed over, and influential members high in the church engaged more or less in political work; my friend Mr. Roberts for one; Mr. John Henry Smith was very active. Mr. Roberts on the Democratic side—"

Mr. Worthington. "They were both apostles then?"

Mr. Thatcher: "No, sir. Mr. Roberts was one of the seven presidents of the seventies quorum."

The wise policy enunciated by Mr. Thatcher in the above excerpt, was generally understood to be the one to which the prophets would rigidly adhere. But, as has already been proved, Apostle Lyman began his ecclesiastico-political work within twelve days from the date of the political division. Also it has been shown that Apostle John Henry Smith was early in the political field for the "welfare of Zion."

As a further example of Apostle Thatcher's desire to remain out of politics, the following is clipped from the Salt Lake "Herald" of July 31st, 1891:

"The Democrats held a rousing meeting at the Salt Lake Theatre last evening.

"Hon. Moses Thatcher was there as a listener. While the meeting was being adjourned the vast audience demanded that he speak.

"Mr. Dyer stepped forward to say that the meeting was at an end, but cries for Moses Thatcher resounded from all parts of the house, and Mr. Thatcher finally stepped to the front and said:

"'For reasons which I think sufficient I have taken no active part in this campaign—not because I was not in sympathy with the grand old Democratic party, but because there are many people in Utah and throughout the length and breadth of the land, who believe the Church dominates the state in Utah. Because of the ecclesiastical position which I occupy I desire to say no word in this campaign, but look to these gentlemen for the educating of the people.

"'A great hero of many battles who had shot and shell tear up the ground at his feet, and who had seen the blood of those who wore the blue and gray flow in streams, said to Lee when the latter surrendered and handed him his sword: "No, General, not a horse or a mule. You will need them all for your spring plowing." It is a glorious thing to be magnanimous. You may look on that picture and then turn and look on this. The Mormon people are sincere. (Tremendous applause.)

"'We trust the Gentile Democrats and Mormon Democrats alike, because they cannot go back on their promises without stultification. Stultification is dishonor, and to us dishonor is worse than death. (Prolonged applause.) I am opposed to union of church and state and always have been. (Applause.) It cannot exist under the American system of government. (Applause.)

"'We have never been understood, but thank God we will be.'"

There is nothing in the nature of politics in the above clipping; just the manly statement of the relation that apostles of the Lord should bear towards the participants in a struggle in which thousands of devout followers would be the contestants. Apostle Thatcher's remarks also contained an unambiguous declaration for the divorcement of church and state, and of his entire confidence in the integrity of the Mormon people.

During the succeeding ten months Apostle Thatcher was not heard from in politics. But owing to the persistent stumping of Apostle John Henry Smith, and the gum-shoe proselyting of Apostle Lyman, and at the earnest, insistent solicitations of the Democratic leaders, Apostle Thatcher delivered a speech in the Ogden Opera House early in May, 1892. The occasion was that of the Territorial Democratic convention to elect delegates to the National Democratic Convention.

Mr. Thatcher's speech was devoted mainly to historically tracing the efforts of the people to free themselves from the despotism of ages, and their triumph in the establishment of personal liberty on this continent. Only his closing remarks can be given, but the careful reader will discern several home-thrusts at those who were responsible for the unique political conditions to be hereinafter more fully discussed. The following is a verbatim report of the latter part of Mr. Thatcher's speech:

"An autocrat who with a nod may condemn to exile and to death one or a thousand subjects, but who is utterly unable to save from starvation millions of his people, may not behold the impending danger, but like the ever increasing avalanche, it is gathering force and will bury deep oppressors. The hardy Scot upon his highland hills calls for home rule. The descendant of the oppressed and wronged Irishmen who carried seaweed from the wave-washed shore of his Emerald isle, high on the mountain top, and there on the barren rocks, made his garden bed and then paid rent to the lord of the manor, cries for home rule. The Canadian, our northern neighbor, turns his eyes to the land whence came the warming chinooks and asks for home rule, and distrusted, down-trodden, office-ridden Utah claims as her birthright, home rule! Will she get it? Yes, and statehood too, if her people stand firm in their honest convictions and have the courage to maintain them. Heart to heart, shoulder to shoulder, each right hand to our friends and wrong hand to no man, and Democratic home rule will yet win.

"If there be devious and doubtful paths to tread; if there be secret messages to deliver; if there be plots and plans as dark as the skin of the founder of the party of 'great moral ideas,' let no Democrat follow those paths. Let no Democrat either conceive, receive or deliver such messages. Let no Democrat concoct or follow any plan upon which he would be ashamed to have the sunlight of midday shine. A true Democrat will give even to his political opponents thirty-six inches to the yard and sixteen ounces to the pound. And he will not be less honorable than the gambler who deals fair, and the horse racer who starts fair, or the pugilist who hits fair. That there may be corrupt men in the Cabinet, in the judiciary, in the Senate and in the House might be conceded, but no mistake could be more fatal in political parties in Utah than the supposition is, in these quarters, or among the people of the Union, the rule and not the exception. For entertaining such ideas we might be led to think all things in politics, as in war, are fair, and thus feeling we might do things that would make a Quay or a Dudley, even, blush for shame.

" 'The Lord God worketh not in the dark, and secret combinations are of the devil.' So declares the Book of Mormon. Satan and Cain were oath-bound. No honorable, conscientious Democrat will follow in the footsteps or copy or follow the example of either. It is better to be honest than by dishonesty to be chief. Each individual is the maker of his own character. Reputation is a football with which an idiot may play. 'He that steals from you your purse steals trash; 'twas yours, 'tis his; and has been slave to thousands, but he that filches from you your good name robs you of that which not enriches him and makes you poor indeed.'

"A word in conclusion about the Utah sugar bounty and the action of the Utah Legislature respecting it. I am a Democrat and do not believe in the doctrine of protection, nor the Governmental bestowal of bounties. I regard them as extremely pernicious and dangerous to the peace and happiness and liberty of the people. I am in perfect harmony with the action of the Legislature on that matter. I am of the opinion that I have paid for as much stock in the Utah Sugar factory as all my Republican friends in Cache County together have purchased. Taking a narrowly selfish view of the matter, I should derive all the bounty I could get, both from the General Government and from the Territory. But when I visit the homes of the people, not those where the fatted calf is killed to gratify the epicurean taste, but the home that has no fatted calf, and from whose few chickens comes the only revenue by which the family secures life's necessaries or meets the demands of conscience in contributing to sacred things; homes where, if gaunt poverty does not there hang his tattered mantle, the children at least thrust their sockless feet into well-ventilated shoes; homes where burlap or rags fill the sash where once the ten-cent pane admitted light; homes where disease gathers the sweat of death and where proper nourishment might bring back the bloom of health; homes from the roof of which broken shingles have fallen and through which the chilling storm beats; homes around which there is neither shrub nor flower to comfort; homes for years innocent of paint; I say when I visit such, and I know where they are, I could not consent that their owners pay a single nickel of extra tax in order to put a bounty in my pocket. No, gentlemen, rather than endorse under these conditions a tax on the people aggregating no more than one per cent. on my personal investment in the Utah Sugar factory, I would prefer to distribute among the worthy poor the remaining ninety-nine per cent. I believe in encouraging home industry, and in that regard am not ashamed of my record; but I do not believe in bounties that take from the many to give to the few, and from the poor to give to the rich, and which are, in my opinion, as much opposed to business sense as they are to public morality. At times it requires courage to float with the current. To fly against the current requires fortitude that all men do not possess.

"He who kisses the hand that smites him is a menial. He that crawls in the dust before them that distrust him is a craven. The brave and always generous Democracy should be a poetic contrast, like the merry brook that, gushing joyously from the mountain top, leaps down the jagged rocks and sends refreshing sprays high in the heated air. Its mossy banks nourish the roots of the beech and the birch, the willow and the elm as it threads the dusty plain in its bounding course to the restless sea: What does it want with high protection walls; with centralization, monopolizing blessings in the songs of its rippling waters? But hard by its passing was a great motionless pool that gave forth no outflow; and it said to the brook: 'How foolish not to husband your supply. Know you not that the winter winds have garnered scanty drifts on the mountain top? The heat of the summer will dry you up. Join with me.' But when long days came and the heat beat heavily down, the birds came and washed their plumage and quenched their thirst in the limpid waters of the laughing brook, then warbled praises to their Maker. Lowing cattle cooled their weary feet as they rested beneath the grateful boughs made rich with foliage from the moisture of the brook now shaded in its way to the sea, and out of the sea rose mists which formed into clouds, and balmy breezes caught them up, and wafted them into the mountains; they poured their treasures right into the sources of the brook, saying: 'Freely you gave, freely receive;' and life and plenty were the songs it sang. But the pool walled around by protection and filled by forced bounty gifts lay sweltering in the noonday sun until it appeared as molten glass. Then came upon its surface green slime, and miasma rose on the air from its bosom, to scatter disease and death. Huge frogs came out of its depths and croaked a requiem to its mistaken economies as day by day the king of light dried up the pool, until tadpoles crawled in the slime of its waterless depths. Which will the people of Utah choose? The generous, never-dying brook, or the disease-engendering pool? They gave answer last August, and if I know them now, as I have known them in the past, their reply will be unchanged next November, and lifted high in the air their tones will mingle with the voices of a great people proclaiming that, in this divinely blessed land, Democracy, the pure, the simple, the free, is king."

The exact wording of Mr. Thatcher's concluding remarks cannot be given, from the fact that they were not stenographically reported. The Ogden "Post" of May 15th, had the following:

"We have got a hard fight. It commenced before we came here. Did you ever hear about the rebellion in heaven? That was on account of Lucifer wanting centralization of power. The Saviour advocated Democracy, and wanted to give to all men their liberty to decide for themselves what course they should take. Lucifer was the very embodiment of Republicanism."

And the Ogden "Standard" of May 15th, had the following:

"It is simply the question of man's love for power against the liberties of the people. This fight began in heaven when the liberties of the people were sought by Satan, who said: 'Give me thy power and I will force every man to be saved.' If Satan had had his way we would all be Republicans. It's slavery on one side, freedom on the other."

Whether the above remarks, credited to Mr. Thatcher, were intended as an illustration of principle, or to the strenuous efforts of some of the Mormon chiefs to retain their despotic political power is not material. But one thing is certain, Moses Thatcher's speech forced some of the prophets to sit up and take notice. As soon thereafter as their ability would permit, President Joseph F. Smith and Apostle John Henry Smith sent the following letter to the Ogden "Standard":

"Editor of the 'Standard': Our sense of political justice and self-respect will not permit us to pass in silence certain utterances of Hon. Moses Thatcher in the recent Territorial Democratic convention in the Ogden Opera House, wherein he would seek to make comparisons of the origin of the Republican and Democratic parties which are seriously unfair to the former.

(2) "If there is any thread in Mr. Thatcher's address, it is most plainly manifest in his attempt to number the Saviour of mankind as a member and almost a founder of the Democratic

party and to give Lucifer and the Whig and Republican parties to each other. In solemn terms we wish to here and now resent all such profaning of the name of Jesus and all such unjustifiable aspersions upon the party to which our ancestors and ourselves have given our devotion and confidence.

(3) "To connect our Lord in a position of responsibility with the Democracy might be so construed as to hold Him responsible for the innocent blood of our martyred kindred and friends; for it is a fact which cannot be gainsaid that the controversies, in which our relatives and companions have been murdered, have been in localities where Democrats held sway, and when the dear ones who have sealed their testimony with their blood shall stand before the judgment seat to accuse their slayers their fingers will be pointed at men who were Democrats on earth. And, therefore, we do not wish to countenance any attempt to lay upon the Redeemer the burdens of the Democracy.

(4) "To make the Whig and Republican parties the lineal descendants and creatures in a political sense of Satan, is to attribute to the arch-enemy a veneration for peace and a regard for human life; for the controversies which our friends and ourselves have had with those parties have been settled without mobocratic assassin violence and the members of those parties do not appear before our eyes with their hands reeking in the blood that was precious to us. And as we do not believe that Satan animates his children to thus abide by law, we do not approve of classing him as the founder, or progenitor of 'the founder, of the party of great moral ideas.'

(5) "In our veins courses the blood of some heroes and martyrs for country and for Christ, and not one drop of it in any real or figurative sense can be traced to Satanic origin.

(6) "In having said so much, we wish to have no misconstruction placed upon our words. We do not claim that either party is the party of Jesus or that either party is the party of Lucifer, for we believe that political parties are mortal in their character and that they and their adherents should be judged by the words and deeds of their age and not by the rebellion in heaven, and we believe that political addresses ought to deal

in political matters solely and ought to leave theological matters alone.

(7) "No true friend of ours will misunderstand this letter or the motives of self-defense which prompt it, nor will any friend misconstrue our future silence, if we make this document our answer for one and for all the attacks which we deem as unwise and unnecessary as they are unjust.

(8) "With Mr. Thatcher's oration in general we have no desire to take partisan issue at this time, although we believe that we might successfully maintain such issue. The full address received careful and considerate treatment by the editor of the Ogden 'Standard' in Sunday's issue of his paper, and we cordially commend to the people of Utah that they read Mr. Thatcher's address and the 'Standard's' criticism.

"JOSEPH F. SMITH,
"JOHN HENRY SMITH,
"Republicans and descendants of Whigs.
"Salt Lake City, May 23d, 1892."

Had Bombastus Furioso and his cousin, Bombasticus, been real characters, they could not have written a more self-exalting reply to Moses Thatcher's Ogden Opera House speech than that of the grandiloquent, magniloquent effusion of the Messrs. Smith above quoted.

In paragraphs one and two (numbered for convenience) the Messrs. Smith assume, in grotesquely important verbiage, to be the special defenders of the Whig and Republican parties. But that was merely buncombe and for the express purpose of fooling the Republican Gentiles into the belief that the Messrs. Smith, mushroom-like, had grown up in the night from rabid adherents of the alien Mormon Kingdom of God to that of the full stature of free-born, full-fledged, American citizens, and always-had-been-never-to-be shaken partisan Republicans.

But the kernel in the nut is found in paragraph three, and clearly proves that those prophets rushed into print for the express purpose of refreshing the memories of the Saints regarding the martyrdom of Joseph and Hyrum Smith, the massacre of the Saints at Haun's mill and the persecutions in Missouri and Illinois, and for the purpose of arousing the prejudices and passions of the Mormon people against the Democratic party. The appeal to passion, as before pointed out in the stumping of John Henry Smith, and as will be hereinafter shown, was the favorite argument of the Smiths during the several years they were before the public as inspired politicians. It was also a hint as to how the vicegerents expected the Saints to vote.

A careful reading of the garbled report given by the Ogden "Post" and the Ogden "Standard," as hereinbefore quoted, of Apostle Thatcher's reference to the respective policies of Christ and Lucifer, will convince any unbiased mind that there was nothing in his remarks that could justify the hysteria that permeates the entire Smith creed.

An unbiased reading of the two prophets' replies to Hon. Moses Thatcher should convince anyone that his greatest crime was that of being a Democrat, and his greatest misfortune is that he is not a relative of the Smiths.

But there was a deeper and darker motive in the two Smith prophets' uncalled-for attack on Moses Thatcher than that of mere spleen, or the arousal of ancient prejudices and passions in the hearts of the Saints. It will be remembered that in the Gardo House conspiracy it was agreed among the prophets that none but Republican prophets were to go out among the people and talk politics; that President Joseph F. Smith said that Moses Thatcher's attitude all through the political fight in Utah could not be justified; that he had been the one apostle who had refused to take counsel as to how the people should be divided up. Moses Thatcher was an apostle, he was also a Democrat and the only apostle-Democrat who had publicly defended the principles of his party. The Messrs. Smith knew that brainy, sympathetic and eloquent Apostle Moses Thatcher on the stump for Democracy would more than offset the combined efforts of President Joseph F. Smith and Apostles Lyman and Smith, the three prophets who had been "set apart" in the Gardo House priesthood meeting to "go out among the people and preach the gospel of Republicanism." Therefore, Apostle Thatcher must be discredited, and that bitter, senseless screed in the Ogden "Standard" advised the Saints throughout Utah that Moses Thatcher was under the ban, that he was "out of harmony" with his brethren of the twelve and first presidency. Joseph F. Smith and John Henry Smith knew that, so far as his future apostleship was concerned, Moses Thatcher had been eliminated from politics, and that apostolic Republican stumpers and gum-shoers would thereafter have a clear field among the Saints.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

"NUGGETS OF TRUTH"—CONTEMPTIBLE POLITICAL METHODS OF CHURCH-REPUBLICAN PARTY

Each political party made an early debut in what was to be a "campaign of education" in 1892. Charles Crane, a wealthy sheep raiser of Kanosh, Millard County, Utah, was elected chairman of the Republican Territorial committee. Mr. Crane was a strong, aggressive Gentile, a former insatiable "Mormon eater," unscrupulous in his political methods, ambitious for political honors, and as such became a servile tool and agent of the prophets in their gum-shoeing of the Territory for votes for the "welfare of Zion." In that work Chairman Crane had an able adviser and confidant in President Joseph F. Smith.

Early in the campaign, Democrats were startled by the appearance of a twelve-page pamphlet entitled, "Nuggets of Truth," and of which the following is a front-page fac-simile.

As the reader will readily recognize, the front page carries the portrait of Joseph Smith, the Prophet. On page two and part of page three are quotations from the first Prophet's speeches and writings on States' rights and constitutional government, which declared for the intervention of the Federal power whenever in the opinion of the chief priest and his advisers, the State officials were lax in protecting the lives and property of the citizens of such State. Then follow quotations from, and a portrait of, Brigham Young, who, like every intelligent American citizen, and especially of newly settled localities, was an advocate of agriculture and home industry. There is not a word or sentence in those quotations from the great pioneer that warranted any conclusion as to his political preferences. Yet, the heading of one of those quotations is: "President Brigham Young as a Republican Protectionist." Then follow successively the portraits of Presidents John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff and Joseph F. Smith, and quotations advocating home

NUGGETS OF TRUTH

AND

EMS FROM THE SPEECHES AND LETTERS OF
THE LEADING MINDS OF UTAH

(PAST AND PRESENT)

[illegible] any party, [illegible] the Democratic [illegible] and [illegible], and I have sworn that [illegible] fall from my shoulder, and my tongue [illegible] the roof of my mouth, before I will vote [illegible]

PROPHET JOSEPH SMITH.

industry and manufactures. The effort at deception even went so far as, in one instance, to interpolate a paragraph advocating Republican protection that is the offspring of the compiler's brains, and palmed off on the unsuspecting Saints as the utterances of a prophet.

On the last page of "Nuggets of Truth," is a wood cut portrait of Frank J. Cannon, son of President George Q. Cannon, and one of the brainiest and most brilliant writers and speakers in Utah. Mr. Cannon was the Republican candidate for delegate to Congress from Utah, and who left the Republican party in 1900 and became identified with the free-silver wing of the Democratic party.

In justice to Mr. Cannon, according to his personal statement to the writer of this volume, he did not approve of such campaign methods as the issuance of the "Nuggets of Truth." Said Mr. Cannon:

"I was at Echo station, Summit County, Utah, when I first saw a copy of 'Nuggets of Truth.' I immediately wired Chairman Crane to withdraw that pamphlet from circulation or I would withdraw from the Republican ticket."

But Mr. Cannon's protest was too late; "Nuggets of Truth" had been mailed in franked envelopes to every part of Utah. Along with the pamphlets there went to every county Republican chairman a copy of the following circular letter:

"Salt Lake City, Utah, ..., 1892.

"Dear Sir: The literature I this day send you it is desired shall be placed in the hands of every man that is identified with the Republican party.

"It is also desired by us, that in order to reach the home of every man in the Territory of Utah, one copy of this work shall be placed within his reach.

"I would suggest the Sunday Schools, the elders' meetings, or church meetings, as the best means of attaining the desired result.

"This will admit of no delay and must be attended to promptly and at once.

"CHARLES CRANE,
"Chairman R. T. Committee."

And under the instructions of Chairman Crane, it is hardly necessary to add that "Nuggets of Truth" was circulated through the agency of Mormon Sunday Schools, M. I. A. meetings and by carriers to the homes of every Mormon family in Utah. The then chairman of the Millard County Republican committee sent letters to each of the precinct chairmen requesting them to "use the enclosed pamphlets, 'Nuggets of Truth,' on all the old mossback Nauvoo Democrats." The memories of those aged Mormons had been dimmed by the passing of fifty years filled to overflowing with an incessant struggle for existence, and they became easy dupes to the misrepresentation and lent their aid to its circulation.

The presence of Joseph Smith's portrait in the "Nuggets of Truth" was an infamous act of political deception. The fact is, the founder of Mormonism was a Democrat and ran for President of the United States on a platform that declared for "free trade and sailors' rights." And there were many, if not all, of the Mormon leaders that knew the founder of Mormonism was a Democrat. And among them was Joseph F. Smith, the present chief prophet, seer and revelator of the Mormon church, a man who is ever insistent in his defense of "truth," "virtue" and general "morality." President Smith knew that copies of "Nuggets of Truth" were being circulated among his people. He knew that the portrait of his martyred uncle was there for the purpose of deceiving his people.

President Smith knew that a lie in pictures was being circulated for the express purpose of changing the political status of Utah. Joseph F. Smith and his confederates in that dastardly crime cared not for the rights of those Gentile Democrats who were investing their time and money in that campaign. What did the political rights of a few "assassins of virtue," "tarantulas" and "enemies of the Mormon people" amount to when the "welfare of Zion," involving the political supremacy of the church, was on the other end of the political teeter board? And why should Mormon Democrats protest? Were not their political rights subordinate to their spiritual welfare? And was that not being carefully guarded by those alleged "holy" conspirators against political liberty? While that inexpressibly infamous outrage on his people was being perpetrated, Joseph F. Smith was silent. By his silence he became a party to the crime, no matter whether or not he had foreknowledge of its meditation. By his silence he consented to have the portrait of his uncle do lying duty as a political decoy to Mormon voters, who, without exception, tenderly reverence the man who died at Carthage.

But President Smith had foreknowledge of the crime. He had become the patron saint of the Republican party, and was in almost daily conference with the then Republican Territorial chairman.

CHAPTER XXXIX

JOSEPH F. SMITH "WAVES THE BLOODY SHIRT"—SAMPLES OF "INSPIRED" "POLITICAL" HOG-WASH LADLED OUT TO THE SAINTS

Many of the Democratic leaders, inspired by prophetic examples and impelled by self-protection, in a lesser degree imitated the campaign methods of the prophets, seers and revelators in their efforts to appeal to the Saints.

On October 11th, 1892, Charles W. Penrose, an able writer and speaker (since risen to the apostolate), published a defense of Democratic principles in the Salt Lake "Herald." Elder Penrose incidentally referred to the friendly policy of the National Democratic party towards the Mormon people. Elder Penrose's argument was no doubt written to offset the statement of the Messrs. Smith in "reply" to Hon. Moses Thatcher's Ogden Opera House speech, and to "Nuggets of Truth." There was, however, nothing in Mr. Penrose's remarks that appealed to the passions of the Saints. His argument was chiefly along constitutional lines. Elder Penrose was a prominent Mormon, and in order to minimize the influence of his "Plain Talk" in the "Herald," Mr. Joseph F. Smith published "Another Plain Talk" in pamphlet form. The pamphlet contained eighteen pages, and, as usual with Mr. Smith, his argument consisted principally of senseless abuse and hair-splitting frivolities. Of the latter, one sample only will be inflicted on the reader, which is found on page three and reads as follows:

"It is a historical fact that Thomas Jefferson, who is held up today as the great apostle of Democracy, ran for President of the United States as a republic(an), and did not seem to be ashamed of the title."

The latter portion of Mr. Smith's pamphlet deals with the principles and policies of the Republican party, and is such an essay on political economies as could reasonably be expected from a fourteen-year old school-boy.

The reader's pardon is invoked for the voluminous quotation from Mr. Smith's pamphlet, which is made for the purpose of silencing charges that the inspired author of "Another Plain Talk" was not given a square deal.

The paragraphs are taken consecutively from the prophet's pamphlet, but are herein segregated and numbered in the interests of clearer discussion.

On page four Mr. Smith's argument begins and proceeds as follows:

(1) "That my readers may obtain a fair understanding of this and see what foundation there is for the statement that they all ought to be Democrats, I desire to examine as briefly as possible the history of the Democratic party, and its action towards Utah since this Territory was settled. I might, to do full justice to the subject, go back to the days of Missouri and Illinois; but this would introduce an element into the discussion perhaps not altogether profitable. I therefore, will omit all reference to events which occurred before the pioneers came to Utah; though in doing so, I leave out a great many points that would add force to my arguments."

That Mr. Smith's "arguments" were to be an appeal to the prejudices and passions of the Saints, instead of to their brains, is indicated by his reference to Missouri and Illinois. For an impartial statement for the basis of Mr. Smith's arguments against the Democrats of Missouri and Illinois the reader is referred to former chapters herein on those matters. And if those Missouri and Illinois arguments were not altogether profitable, but, because of their similarity, would add force to his arguments, why did Mr. Smith omit them?

(2) "After the settlement of Utah the first administration that came into power was the Whig administration of Taylor-Fillmore. General Taylor died and Millard Fillmore, the Vice-President, became President of the United States. Let it be said to the credit of that Whig administration that the people of Utah then had tangible home-rule granted to them. Fillmore's administration consulted the wishes of the Territory as to who was the man of all others among them whom they would prefer to be their Governor. Brigham Young was their choice,

and without hesitation President Fillmore appointed that distinguished man as the Governor of the Territory. Such acts as these speak louder than words and empty professions. Has the Democratic party, with all its pretended home rule, ever done as much for us as that?

(3) "I am aware that home rule is a favorite theme with Democratic politicians; and this recalls that monumental absurdity of that so-called home-rule bill now pending in Congress. The measure is clumsy, ridiculous, and un-American. The whole realm of legislation offers no parallel to it. It is a monster, and it is an insult and a sham, in that it proposes, not to loosen the chains in which the people are now held, but to gild them with coin wrung from their hard-earned substance. Am I not justified in judging Democratic pretensions and ideas of home rule by that measure? When framed, its existence was kept secret. A knot of Democrats conceived the thing in darkness, in Salt Lake City, and its birth took place when introduced into the House of Representatives. Its parents had reasons to be ashamed of it; for the best plea urged in its favor was that it would furnish the people of Utah a time of probation under which, forsooth, they could exhibit their fitness for self-government. This was the estimate placed upon the people of Utah by this Democratic measure. And yet it is thought to be such a superior specimen of Democratic home-rule measures. It proposes a form of State government without the power thereof. It increases the burdens of the people without giving them a voice in the affairs of the nation, and furnishes places for a lot of hungry politicians at the expense of the people."

Paragraph two is merely a prefatory contrast to his charges in paragraph three, and the spirit of each is a characteristic Mormon plea for unbridled license to supersede the laws of the United States with the dictum code of the prophets. And anything that did not permit that license was tyrannical—not home rule.

Mr. Smith's vehement denunciation of the Utah home-rule measure is as false as it is characteristic of his general utterances. And the very thought that, after forty years of defiant law breaking on the part of the Lord's vicegerents, they should be given a "time of probation, under which, forsooth, they could exhibit their fitness for self-government," was monstrous, "an insult and a sham!"

(4) "In 1856 the Republican party came into existence. General Fremont was the Presidential candidate of that party. Against him the Democrats pitted James Buchanan. James Buchanan was elected. Then the Democratic party showed how much love it had for the people of Utah. The first act was to remove Governor Young. That was its way of showing its regard for home rule. Next, it sent an army with the avowed intention of crushing the people of Utah. Perhaps the meanest, most oppressive and heartless officials with the exception of the Governor, that Utah was ever cursed with, came at that time as the representatives of Democracy. The Republican party had assailed polygamy in its platform; but the Democratic party undertook to show the country that it could go far beyond the Republican proposition—it would attack the whole structure and destroy the whole Mormon institution. This was the illustration which the people of Utah then had of Democratic love for the constitution, and their rights as a people."

In his pious efforts to fool the Saints for the "welfare of Zion," Prophet Joseph F. Smith in paragraph four, utters a wilful falsehood when he says "the Republican party had assailed polygamy in its platform." That incident did not occur until five years after the "Democratic" expedition to Utah. But Joseph F. Smith is ever consistent in that he was never known to hesitate to lie for the "welfare of Zion." And in order to prove his further falsification, it is well to restate the reasons for the removal of Governor Brigham Young, the sending of the army, etc.

Utah was under the rule of a theocracy that affected to be superior to that of the Government of the United States. Governor Young was ruling Utah under the prophet-"kingship" of President Young. Blood atonement was not only openly advocated from the Tabernacle pulpit, but was frequently enforced. Federal officers were threatened and bulldozed until they dared not enforce the laws except by and with the consent of the prophets. Many of them fled for their lives. An army was necessary in Utah to protect the representatives of the Government in their enforcement of the law. Had the Buchanan administration desired to crush the Church it would have sent a larger force than 2500 men.

It is here pertinent to ask President Joseph F. Smith if the "meanest, most oppressive and heartless (Democratic) officials" from 1850 to 1857 were any worse than the "damned scoundrels"—"cursed Government officials" that plagued the polygamous prophets from 1860 to August 10th, 1879, when Prophet Joseph F. Smith uttered the above words within quotation marks?

(5) "Mr. Penrose makes the statement that the Democratic party has been the friend of Utah in all its efforts to secure its rights. Will the truth of history bear this out?

(6) "It must always be borne in mind, in considering the actions of the two great political parties towards Utah, that the impression was general and well grounded up to a recent date, that the Mormon people were hopelessly Democratic. The Republican party, therefore, viewed them as their political opponents. They had nothing to expect from them politically, and they treated them accordingly. On the contrary, the Democratic party had every reason to believe that the Mormon people were Democrats. Now, in contrasting the treatment of the two parties toward Utah, this fact should not be lost sight of. The Democrats had every reason for treating us as political friends; the Republicans as political opponents. I feel free in saying, that, remembering this fact, we have been treated better in Utah by the Republicans than we have by the Democrats."

Politician Smith's ideas of political morality are beautifully illustrated in paragraph six. Extract the Smith verbiage and the residuum is:

The Democrats regarded the Mormons as their political friends, therefore Democratic officials should have been recreant to their official oaths to enforce the law, and merely winked at the sins of the prophets. And because they did enforce the law against their political friends, they are tenfold worse than the Republican officials who enforced the law against their political enemies.

In the following paragraph Prophet Smith again exhibits a hankering to discuss the "unprofitable" subject of the Missouri and Illinois persecutions:

(7) "I assert this, and it cannot be truthfully denied, the greatest sufferings and miseries which the people of Utah have endured, those which have entailed the greatest loss and sacrifice, have been experienced under Democratic administrations. (See "Mill. Star," Vol. XXI, p. 829.)

(8) "As I have already said, it was under a Whig administration that Utah was created a Territory. This was in 1850. During the forty-two years which have since elapsed there have been three Democratic administrations—those of Pierce, Buchanan and Cleveland. Of Pierce's administration it need only be said that there was no agitation of Utah's affairs and she attracted no attention. But of Buchanan's administration, who can describe the sufferings of the people of Utah under it? After the lapse of thirty-four years, it chills my blood to think of them. Another exodus of all our people from the northern settlements in the inclement spring of 1858—homes abandoned—another launching forth to seek new homes. Men, women and children fleeing fro man army whose threats of outrage and violence were borne to their ears by every breeze from the east. The recollection of the acts of mobs was then too recent to permit any indifference to prevail. Those who took part in those scenes, and yet live, cannot forget them. This was an exhibition, pure and simple, of Democratic rule. Shall we take that as furnishing reasons why the people of Utah should be Democrats? I doubt if my friend Penrose himself would be so ardent in presenting his reasons in favor of Democratic rule if, instead of being in the kingdom of Great Britain and under the rule of Queen Victoria, he had shared the hardships and privations of those days."

Paragraph eight contains nearly as many falsehoods by implication as there are assertions. The winter of 1857-8 was the mildest ever experienced in Utah. The streets of Salt Lake City and the roads throughout Utah were dry and dusty during the entire season of the exodus of the Saints from the northern part of Utah to the settlement south of Salt Lake City, and, except occasional individual cases, there was absolutely no suffering.

The Saints in the north merely went on a visit to their brethren and sisters in the south and remained a few months. Instead of the spring of 1858 being "inclement weather," the weather was ideal. Whenever a Mormon preacher has use for a miracle, he refers to that winter and spring as evidence that God tempered the blasts to the shorn lambs en route to Lehi, Provo and points beyond. And when a prophet needs that "exodus" in the business of political proselyting, the snow fell ten feet deep and the mercury sought shelter in the bulb, froze solid and failed to thaw out before May 31st.

And Politician Smith's picture of the Saints fleeing before a ribald and threatening army, in search of new homes, is simply grotesque. Every Saint in Utah knew that "exodus" was merely a bluff. "Brigham had 'em licked," and everybody, especially the army, knew it. Governor Young's militia had driven off nearly every horse and mule and every beef animal that could be stampeded or taken from herders. Uncle Sam's supply trains had been burned, thus compelling the army to subsist on rations of flour, mule and horse flesh. That "vengeful army" couldn't turn a wheel until Governor Young returned their work animals. The soldiers hardly had a square meal until Brigham returned their beef cattle. The army was five hundred miles from any base of supplies, and existed by the grace of the Mormon prophets.

The Saints had three years' provisions on hand, and instead of seeking new homes, it was publicly stated that they "would take to the mountains, let loose the Indians on the army" and fight it out to a finish.

Joseph F. Smith knew that those were the conditions, and knowing them, he wilfully misled the Saints in his efforts to secure votes for the "welfare of Zion." He knew there was no intent to seek new homes. He had heard Brigham say: "As soon as they (the army) start to come into our settlements, let sleep depart from their eyes and slumber from their eyelids, until they sleep in death. Men shall be secreted here and there, and shall waste away our enemies in the name of Israel's God." —"Journal of Discourses," Vol. V, p. 338.

There was no such suffering as to "chill the blood" of Joseph

F. Smith, or any other inspired Ananias. The presence of Johnston's army was a material, if not a spiritual, blessing. Surplus provisions and garden truck were sold to the army at exorbitant prices. And when the army left for California, in 1860, the Saints reaped a harvest in wagons, harness, and other supplies of which they were in need. They also purchased flour, groceries, etc., of the army for less than ten cents on the dollar of the actual value, or of the price the Saints had received for those provisions.

(9) "From Buchanan to Cleveland, a period of twenty-four years, the Republican party was in power. Among other acts of legislation it enacted the law of 1862. Mr. Penrose calls this act 'the egg' of the confiscation bird of prey. I do not defend, much less approve of that act. But this may be said: Had the Republican party known Utah as favorably as the Democratic party had reasons for knowing her, that 'egg' would not have appeared. As it was, it remained only an 'egg' for twenty-five years, and then it was hatched under the administration of Grover Cleveland."

In defence of the Republican party's dereliction in failing to enforce the anti-polygamy legislation of 1862, it should be remembered that the nation was engaged in a struggle for its existence—a struggle that the then living prophets hoped and predicted would end in total annihilation of the Government. And it should also be remembered that for years after the war the Republican party was too busy in its reconstruction and financial policies to pay any attention to those law-breaking prophets, whose undying friendship and eternal gratitude were being won by the party that "laid" the anti-polygamy "egg" but were too busy to hatch it.

(10) "Mr. Cleveland is again a candidate for the office of Chief Executive, and with remarkable fatuity my friend would have all of us think him the man who ought to be elected. But what claim has Mr. Cleveland to our gratitude, or by what acts of his did he show himself the friend of the people of Utah? We are told that if the Manifesto had been issued during the Cleveland administration, the people of Utah would have received very different treatment to that which his administra-

tion dealt out to them. But there is considerable room to doubt this. While he was yet President, a constitutional convention was called in Salt Lake City, and a State constitution was framed for Utah, which practically made the continuance of polygamy impossible in the proposed State. Here was the opportunity for the Democratic party to show its friendship for Utah. No man in public affairs knew better than President Cleveland the condition of affairs in this Territory, for no President ever had such copious explanations and from so many different sources given him. Did this action of the delegates of the people in framing this constitution have any effect? Did it produce a cessation of prosecutions, or invoke any kind of interest in those dark days of severe trial? Not the least. No commiseration, no relaxation of rigorous enforcement of the law on the part of Mr. Cleveland and his administration. What is such friendship worth? It is when people are in trouble that true friends exhibit their sympathy and give their aid. During those days of which I speak, the admission of other Territories as States received Democratic endorsement, but of Utah it was said by an eminent Democratic leader that 'it was a fly in the Democratic ointment.' That is our case, we have too often been a fly in their ointment."

There is but one sentence in paragraph ten that requires comment, and which reads as follows: "While he (Cleveland) was yet President a constitutional convention was called in Salt Lake City, and a State constitution was framed for Utah which practically made the continuance of polygamy impossible in the proposed State."

Utah has a State constitution which, theoretically, inhibits polygamy. Let Prophet-Seer-and-Revelator Joseph F. Smith answer if that constitution has "made the continuance of polygamy impossible." Let President Smith call as witnesses Abraham Cannon, John W. Taylor, Matt. Cowley, Elders Joseph H. Robinson, the two Tanners, Thomas Chamberlain and a score of lesser lights who have taken plurals since Utah became a State. Let Joseph F. Smith answer if any constitutional inhibition, State or national, can make the "continuance of polygamy impossible" in a State that is largely inhabited by men who defy the law of God, as well as the laws of men, on the practice of polygamy, and in which the officers, from constable to district judge, will not, or dare not, take cognizance of that class of cases, because of certain political oblivion and church and social ostracism? Of the numerous cases of plural marriage and the hundreds of cases of continuous unlawful cohabitation since 1895, there has been but one arrest for either of those crimes. That solitary case was that of Prophet Joseph F. Smith when, in 1904, he returned from Washington, D. C., where he was compelled to acknowledge that at least six children were born to him by his plural wives since Utah became a State. The courts were forced to take cognizance of his testimony, and the Chief Prophet was arrested and fined three hundred dollars for living with five women during a period of eight years, a sum that any uninspired libertine would have regarded as a mere bagatelle for a like license.

The remainder of paragraph ten, and for that matter the rest of Mr. Smith's political essay, is merely a plea that any executive officer from constable to supreme judge should be partial to his political friends; that if he doesn't do it he is guilty of political ingratitude, and if he shows his political enemies mercy, he is worthy of unstinted praise. Such is Prophet Smith's estimate of men and morals; therefore the remainder of his stupid screed is submitted as a characteristic specimen of the inspired political hog-wash that was circulated among the Saints from, and including, 1891 to 1896.

"The creation of the Utah Commission as referred to by my Democratic brother is a striking illustration of Republican doctrine and policy. This body was created by the law of 1882. True, the Republicans were in the majority in the Congress which enacted that measure. But let what I have stated not be forgotten—that the Republican party viewed the people of Utah as their political opponents. This I know is no justification of oppressive legislation. But what shall be said of the Democratic leaders who joined heart and hand in the measure? If that measure was conceived in Republican sin, it was brought forth by Democratic iniquity. Two of the principal members of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate when the Edmunds law was passed were Thomas F. Bayard and A. H. Garland—*par nobile fratrum*—Democrats of the highest and most admirable(?) type. They knew the people of Utah viewed the Republican party as their enemy and the Democratic party as their friend. They and the entire Democratic party at that time fully believed Utah to be solidly Democratic. By taking a firm, bold stand, they might have checked, if not arrested entirely, the maddened flood of anger that was sweeping over the land against Utah. Bayard especially was acquainted with the true situation of affairs here. But he and Garland, instead of protesting against what C. W. Penrose calls 'Republican monstrosity,' did all in their power to debauch everyone they came in contact with to support and make it a law. When Democrats cite the law of 1882 or 1887 as an evidence that the people of Utah should be Democrats, they commit a blunder, an act which, in the opinion of the French diplomatist, Talleyrand, is worse than a crime. For the conduct of leading Democrats in connection with both these laws was most discreditable. It is true that there were some Democrats that opposed these measures, but that is merely to say that there are some Democrats that are honorable men. They all could *not forget that the people of Utah were being attacked by the other party because of the reputation they had of being Democrats.* Can anyone who knows the Republican party think for a moment that if the people of Utah had been *their friends and of their party,* as they were supposed to be of the Democratic party, *the Republican party would have stood solidly by them?* Whatever faults the Republican party may have, cowardice is not one of them. It stands by its friends.

"T. F. Bayard and A. H. Garland were as much to blame, in their place, for the creation of the Utah Commission and the enactment of the Edmunds law of 1882 as George F. Edmunds was. And yet we see that it brought them no discredit in their party. No sooner did Cleveland get into power than T. F. Bayard was made Secretary of State and A. H. Garland Attorney General. The Department of Justice was placed under the latter's control, and the people of Utah had the opportunity of witnessing what a Democratic administration would do for them. Never in all their history were they made to feel the iron enter their souls as under the administration of the Department of Justice by A. H. Garland and the Chief Magistracy of Grover Cleveland. Under the domination of these prominent Democrats hundreds of the people of Utah had their leisure within the walls of the penitentiary—to ponder upon the insincerity and hollowness of Democratic professions.

"The Democrats now try to dodge the responsibility of all this suffering by alleging that it was Republican officials who *executed* the law. Such an evasion is insincere and cowardly. Who was President of the United States? Grover Cleveland. Who was Attorney General? A. H. Garland. Had they the power to remove officials who were not carrying out their policy? Certainly they had.

"If the people of Utah were being cruelly, or harshly or improperly treated, they of all men should have arrested it. But they did not. On the contrary, some of the judges of their own party exceeded in severity and rigor the Republican judges. The ignominy of all that occurred from 1885 to 1889 must be that of the Democratic party. That party claims everything which it thinks creditable during Cleveland's administration. Why shall it be permitted to evade and blame Republicans for that which was discreditable during the same period? I repeat that to do so, as Democrats in this Territory are doing, is nothing but despicable cowardice.

"Let it be remembered that the Republicans, in carrying out their policy, did not attempt to deceive the people of Utah. They announced their principles; they sought to carry them out. But the Democrats have continually been making fine speeches. They have told us all the day long what great friends they were of the people of Utah; but what have they done? This is the vital question in this discussion. They may have given us some 'soft soap,' but when they had the power to act, and the Government in their hands, they have shown what they would do for Utah. *The two Democratic administrations of Buchanan and Cleveland—the only ones of the kind in thirty-one years—stand out as the blackest pages in American history, so far as the treatment of the people of Utah is concerned.* Who can truthfully dispute this? How many old citizens of Utah, after such bitter experiences of Democratic rule, can be so insensate as to seek to bring in another Democratic administration only illustrates how utterly blind men can become under the influence of party feeling. With such a record it is astonishing that a man of experience and standing should have the presumption and hardihood to urge such reasons why the people of Utah should be Democrats.

"But I have digressed. I will now return to the late legislation against Utah. I have shown the share the Democratic party, through its leaders, had in the legislation of 1882. Let us examine that of 1887. Who were its authors? George F. Edmunds, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee in the Senate, and J. Randolph Tucker, the leading constitutional lawyer of the Democratic party and the Chairman of the Judiciary of the House. The bill of 1887 was their joint production. Tucker, the lauded Democratic exponent of the Constitution and the powers to be exercised under it, prepared his bill, and it is said that he made it more severe than the bill Edmunds had prepared—for he also prepared one. A fusion of the two bills was finally effected, and the law bears their joint names—Edmunds-Tucker law. Mr. Tucker was a high Democratic authority. He could discourse as plainly about the beauties of constitutional government under Democratic rule and give as many reasons why people should be Democrats as any man in the nation. But talk is cheap. We must take the law that bears his name as containing his ideas of Democratic doctrine. By that law and its hateful provisions must Mr. Tucker and that section of the Democratic party which acted with him be judged. They cannot divest themselves of their share of the iniquity. To charge this measure to the Republicans alone is most unfair and disingenuous.

"But there is this difference in the Repubilcan party's actions in this case and the actions of Mr. Tucker and his followers. The Republican party was honestly carrying out its policy and convictions, while Mr. Tucker and friends were voting for a bill which their Democratic brother, Penrose, thinks infamous.

"This, however, is not all. Grover Cleveland was then President of the United States.

"He had the right under the constitution to veto that bill. He is in this dilemma, therefore: He either secretly approved of the bill, or he lacked the courage to veto it. His friends can select either horn of the dilemma they choose. I myself attribute his non-action to the same feeling that had influence with his predecessors, Buchanan and Van Buren—for while he did not veto the bill, he did not approve it."

CHAPTER XL

GUM-SHOERS IN POLITICS

The spy is useful to the army, and he must possess the qualities of patriotism and courage. The detective is useful in the suppression of crime, and must be a man of exceptional keenness of intellect and nerve. "Spotter" is merely another name for detective, and is used in an opprobrious sense by criminals who seek to minimize their own offending by imputing unworthy motives to those who ferret out their crimes and bring them to punishment. "Infamous spotter" is the favorite term used by President Joseph F. Smith in his efforts to exalt polygamy above bigamy and polygamous intercourse over adultery by discrediting the detective who collects the evidence and locates the saintly criminal.

In order to insure success spies, detectives, and so-called spotters are compelled to work secretly to achieve success.

The Mormon "gum-shoer" or "whisperer" is the antithesis of the spy and detective in all the qualities of intellect and courage so essential in the latter. The energies of the detective are bent toward the unearthing of crime while the efforts of the "gum-shoer" are used in protection of crime and in the furtherance of political schemes to perpetuate the temporal power of the Mormon priesthood. In brief, the gum-shoer is a secret agent of the Mormon prophets—one who is presumably set apart to carry political messages to the Saints instructing them as to which end of the political teeter board they should move their votes. And in the political transformation of Utah gum-shoers were especially useful to the prophets.

The chief of the gum-shoers during the years immediately following the division on political lines was George F. Gibbs, private secretary to the Mormon Church First Presidency. Elder Gibbs was born in England, and reared in the belief that the only allegiance in this life is to the Mormon priesthood. True to his education George F. Gibbs became an abject Saint and servile political tool of the chief prophets. Elder Gibbs must have had foreknowledge of what the prophets desired, and he was in a position to do effective work for the Church-Republican party. Immediately following the division on party lines in June, 1891, Secretary Gibbs wrote to John F. Wright, Bishop of Hyrum ward, Cache County, Utah, and advised that the Saints be divided about equally between the Republican and Democratic parties. The letter was written on one of the official letterheads of the First Presidency, and bore the unmistakable impress of divine authority. There is not the slightest doubt that Secretary Gibbs wrote similar letters to other bishops in Cache and other counties. But Bishop Wright was a strong Democrat and an honest Mormon. He had accepted the terms of the political division in good faith and resented the interference of the truckling secretary and the treachery implied in the advice to "divide in the middle." The letter found its way to Democratic headquarters, and furnished the first tangible evidence of the political duplicity of some of the Lord's anointed.

The Democrats used the Gibbs letter, and the breach of confidence it involved, with such energy that the prophets were compelled to publish the following long-over-due card:

"As rumors have been circulated and published accusing the First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints with interference in political affairs, so as to control elections and to direct members of the church as to which political party they should suport, we hereby declare these rumors to be false and without foundation in fact. We emphatically deny that we or either of us authorized Mr. George F. Gibbs or any other person or persons to use our names, so as to influence citizens to vote the Republican ticket at Logan or elsewhere. If our names have been used in any such way it has been entirely without permission from us, and we hereby condemn it as wrong and reprehensible. If we have any desire it is that our people in this Territory shall study well the principles of both the great national parties, and then choose which they will join, freely voluntarily, and honestly, from personal conviction, and then stand by it in all honor and sincerity. Each party shall have the same rights, privileges and opportunity as the other.

"If any man claims that it is the wish of the First Presidency that a Democrat shall vote the Republican ticket or a Republican the Democratic ticket, let all people know he is endeavoring to deceive the public and has no authority of that kind from us. We have no disposition to direct in these matters, but proclaim that, as far as we are concerned, the members of this Church are entirely and perfectly free in all political affairs. But they should not indulge in ill feeling or personalities. President George Q. Cannon is absent, but we are sure that if he were here he would sign the declaration with us.

"WILFORD WOODRUFF,
"JOSEPH F. SMITH.
"Of the Presidency of the Church of
Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints."

There is not the slightest doubt that President Woodruff knew nothing whatever of the contents of the Gibbs letter in advance of public information. Wilford Woodruff was an honest man. In the absence of first Counsellor George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith was the power behind the throne, and when requested to publicly discipline Secretary Gibbs for his "unauthorized" deception, President Smith refused to do so, and very likely for the reason that the disciplining of Gum-shoe Gibbs would have defeated the object of the letter: And the efforts of Apostle F. M. Lyman at Beaver, two weeks after the political division, to induce President M. L. Sheppard and other Democrats to become Republicans should be weighed against the insincere declarations of Joseph F. Smith in the above-quoted card to the public.

Another gum-shoe truckler to the Church political leaders was "Fussy Jimmy" (James H. Anderson). "Fussy," however was not gum-shoeing so much for the "welfare of Zion" as he was for himself. He was seeking by every imaginable device to climb to political positions by using the prophets as step ladders. And Fussy's ability was of that mediocre order that divine aid was necessary to land him in any office higher than that of dog catcher.

As an illustration of gum-shoe methods and of the manliness of a Gentile candidate for Mormon suffrage the following incident is related:

"Fussy Jimmy" and Hon. C. E. Allen, Utah's first member of Congress after statehood, were in Deseret, Millard County, on a stumping tour during the campaign of 1895. They were in the sitting room of the Deseret House. "Fussy," after explaining that nearly all of the Mormon leaders were Republicans, suggested to Mr. Allen that he make that fact an argument or plea for Mormon votes. Mr. Allen was the Congressional candidate on the Republican ticket, but his reply, "Touch it? Touch it? I wouldn't touch it with a ten-foot pole," was a credit to his manhood, and gained for him the respect, if not the vote, of the party who unintentionally overheard it.

There were hundreds of gum-shoers in Utah who went among the Saints and whispered to them that it was the desire of the First Presidency that this, that or the other town "go Republican because of the influence it will have on the Administration at Washington." There is no doubt that many of the fourth-rate politicians did so without suggestion from the Church authorities—they simply lied for personal advantage, but in their whisperings they had the lofty example of the prophets.

The midnight efforts of the Mormon gum-shoers were eagerly supplemented by aspiring servile Gentiles who, regardless of the moral questions involved and the baneful effects it would have on the political future of Utah, shouted themselves hoarse in their denials of Church interference in politics. They also endorsed the position early taken by the prophets to the effect that they were American citizens, and therefore had the constitutional right to enter politics, to talk to the people, to write partisan literature and to accept nominations for office. The great majority of that class of Gentiles were, as a matter of course, merely bending the "pregnant hinges of their knees that thrift might follow fawning." The only excuse for the position taken by those Gentile flunkeys is that they regarded the inspired claims of the Mormon leaders in the light of a side-splitting joke. And from their viewpoint they could not comprehend the fact that the rank and file of the Latter-day Saints were sincere in their faith.

Those Gentiles were either ignorant of the truth or, in their pandering to the scheme of the Mormon leaders, they were as guilty of fraud and deception as were the treacherous and law-defying priests to whom they abjectly bartered their American manhood for the prospect of political preferment. If those Gentiles were ignorant of the plain intent of the Mormon leaders to use them as tools in their efforts to pry Uncle Sam loose, they alone were to blame for their lack of foresight. The object lesson in the protracted struggle of the Government to enforce the law against the obdurate prophets was before them. They knew of the efforts of loyal Gentiles to throw off the intolerable political yoke which the Mormon priesthood had compelled them to wear during forty years. They should have known that when consent was given the Mormon priests to enter the political arena their dictum would be the law and gospel to the Saints.

Many of the more intelligent of the Saints foresaw the inevitable results of apostolic stumping. They knew that when a prophet, seer and revelator became a candidate for any office within the gift of the Saints, all other aspirants must take to the "tall timber" or suffer defeat if they persisted in the race. But when a danger signal was hoisted by a conservative Mormon he was snubbed by the prophets and laughed at by the office-hungry Gentiles.

CHAPTER XLI

CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1892—FRANK J. CANNON IS DEFEATED—JOSEPH L. RAWLINS IS ELECTED

The ecclesiastical influences that were at work in the efforts to divide the Mormon people politically in the "middle," and the detestable proselyting methods of the prophets in the campaign of 1892, have been partly discussed. But in order to keep the historical record intelligible it is necessary to furnish more of the details. And the recognition of that necessity is accompanied by profound regret that the recital must include the discussion of matters that, did not accuracy and clearness otherwise demand, would gladly be omitted.

The fact of Frank J. Cannon's candidacy for delegate to Congress on the Republican ticket has already been stated. Against Mr. Cannon the Democratic party pitted Joseph L. Rawlins, a man of exceptional ability and a lawyer of splendid attainments. Mr. Rawlins was born in the Mormon Church, but at an early age he severed his connection with that organization. Notwithstanding his separation from the church Mr. Rawlins continued a loyal friend to the Mormon people. His confidence in the sincerity of the political division and in the integrity of the Saints was unbounded.

Clarence E. Allen received the nomination for delegate to Congress from the Liberal party, which had not yet disbanded. Mr. Allen's ability and scholarly attainments were equal in every respect to those of his competitors for Congressional honors. But if there was a man in Utah whom the Saints especially disliked that one was Clarence E. Allen. In his rôle of stumper during previous campaigns for the Liberal party Mr. Allen had flayed the Mormon leaders, and had denounced in such vigorous terms the polygamous practices of the Saints that, from the Mormon standpoint, there was ample cause for resentment.

Notwithstanding the treacherous political work of Apostle

Francis M. Lyman in Beaver City and other towns in southern Utah during 1891, and the efforts of other sanctified gum-shoers in all parts of the Territory, the Democrats in 1892 inserted in their platform the following childlike and bland, or blind, plank:

"We announce our complete confidence in the sincerity of the Mormon people in their abandonment of polygamy, in submission to the laws of the land, and their division on party lines, and our full faith in the pledges of their Church leaders that the freedom of the members in political affairs shall not be interfered with by them in any particular. We view the attempts of individuals to make it appear that the Mormon presidency secretly desire and work for the success for any party as a slander upon the Church officials and a disgrace to those engaged in such despicable trickery."

The confidence of the Democracy in the sincerity of the majority of the Mormon people was well founded, but knowing, as the Democratic leaders did, of the despicable trickery of F. M. Lyman and others, the plank above quoted was an assinine appeal to the Church leaders to cease their "despicable trickery," or it was a sop for divine aid in behalf of the Democracy.

The peculiar agencies at work among the people, the unusual questions at issue and the intensity and bitterness with which they were discussed, were such as to warrant the statement that the campaign of 1892 has no parallel in the history of politics.

Having accepted the political division in good faith the Saints were anxious to learn all they could of the respective parties. The halls in which the rallies were held were jammed almost to suffocation with interested listeners. Mormon and Gentile speakers forgot the animosities of the old fight and side by side on the same rostrums they poured out their fiery eloquence in defense of Republican or Democratic principles. Apostle John Henry Smith was a novice in politics and knew but little of Republican principles and policies. But Apostle Smith's ignorance of politics was fully compensated in fervid denunciation of alleged Democratic enmity for the Saints, and in "John Henry hugs," which, in many instances, were more effectual than "arguments." Apostle F. M. Lyman knew less of politics than Apostle Smith and did not, therefore, take the stump, but in priesthood meetings and in still-hunts for votes "for the welfare of Zion" Apostle Lyman had no equal among the prophets of Israel. President Joseph F. Smith was active on the stump in his home ward and was busy preparing Republican(?) literature for the Saints, and in his efforts to minimize the force of the one speech of the one apostle who, without permission, had championed the cause of Democracy.

Among the lesser gum-shoe lights in Salt Lake City were Bishops John Siddoway and Warburton, who, posing as Democrats, went among their respective flocks and told them that they were authorized by the first presidency to say that, in the interests of Zion and prospective statehood for Utah, the Saints should vote for "brother" Frank J. Cannon (Joseph L. Rawlins was an "apostate"). President George Q. Cannon wrote to the Democratic bishop of one of the Millard County wards in the interest of his son Frank J., which was, no doubt, a duplicate of many other letters sent by President Cannon to other bishops in Utah. Had not President Cannon held the exalted position of one of the prophets, seers and revelators in the Church his interest in his son's election would have fully justified his appeal to anyone he saw fit to approach.

Saintly gum-shoers invaded every section of Zion and whispered to the faithful—"Moses Thatcher is out of harmony with his brethren of the twelve and no significance should be attached to his political utterances. And that in the interest of statehood, the Saints should vote the Republican ticket. In fact, it is the will of the holy priesthood that you do so."

One by one the Democrats saw their ranks depleted by the insidious work of the prophets and their gum-shoe agents. And they further noted that in nearly every instance the deserters were devout Saints, many of whom were leaders in their respective localities.

The manifest injustice of the methods just described, and the broken pledge of the prophets to use no influence with the voters, so incensed thousands of Mormon Democrats that a rebellion against the Church leaders was seriously discussed by many theretofore faithful Saints. And although cajoled or whipped into silence, the old resentment yet rankles in their hearts and constitutes a force that, some day, will have to be reckoned with. Had the prophets had even one atom of inspiration they would have sensed the irreparable injury they were inflicting on the faith and devotion of their followers. But in their blundering blindness they failed, until too late, to realize the strength of the storm they had awakened. It was to this condition that President George Q. Cannon referred in a sermon, an extract from which has already been quoted.

Stories concerning the alleged questionable career of Frank J. Cannon had been circulated among the Saints during several years prior to his nomination for Congress in 1892. As an offset to the inspired aid of which Mr. Cannon was the chief beneficiary, the Democrats were seemingly determined to defeat him on his record for unsaintly conduct. With that effort the leaders of the Democracy had nothing to do. Nor was Mr. Cannon's character challenged in the Democratic press. It was a spontaneous movement among the rank and file in an effort to even up matters on the issuing and circulating of "Nuggets of Truth." The stories were revived, freely discussed, and urged as sufficient reasons why Mr. Cannon should not represent the people of Utah in the United States Congress. It was in protest against such campaigning that President Cannon wrote the letter, before referred to, to a bishop in Millard County.

Reports of the efforts to defeat Mr. Cannon on his reputation reached the ears of President Joseph F. Smith, the patron Saint of Utah Republicanism. It was well along towards the close of the campaign and there was no time to be lost. President Smith immediately wrote to Thomas J. Stevens, bishop of the fifth ecclesiastical ward, Ogden, where Mr. Cannon resides. Following is the reply of Bishop Stevens to President Smith's letter of inquiry:

"Dear Brother: In answer to questions regarding the standing of Frank J. Cannon, will say, that some years ago a charge was preferred against him, the *wording of which I do not remember;* but I *do remember* that we had to rely largely on his confession to substantiate that charge. His confession was all that we could ask, he making a clean breast of it concerning his transgressions. The decision of the bishop's court was that he confess his sins before the ward public meeting and ask forgiveness, which he did, to the best of my recollection, the following Sunday; and a more humble, penitent spirit I never witnessed in any person than that which was with him upon that occasion. The people of the ward freely forgave him, there being not one dissenting vote. At this time I was not his bishop, but was a councillor in the bishopric which tried his case. I have been his bishop for four years past. During this time he has manifested upon many occasions his devotion to the work of the Lord. His tithing has been settled to our satisfaction each year; his donations have been liberally paid to help the poor, erecting meeting house, ward school, etc. In fact, he has done more than his share in these directions when financially compared with others. He has confessed to me twice since being his bishop of his being guilty of taking too much strong drink and being intoxicated. Upon these occasions he has shown unmistakably his respect for those who preside over him in the priesthood, and volunteered the information concerning his transgressions. I would further say that if Brother Frank Cannon should apply to me for a recommend to join any ward I would give him one certifying that he is in good standing and fellowship, as I consider him to be worthy of such.

(Signed) "THOMAS J. STEVENS,
"Bishop Fifth Ward, Ogden."

As a recommend for political purposes the above is a very gem, and constitutes the first incident, very likely, in the history of the world where a candidate for civil office was aided in his canvass for votes by an ecclesiastical recommend, and especially where the invaluable document was obtained through the medium of a prophet, seer and revelator. And in the face of the above damning evidence President Joseph F. Smith testified under oath in the Smoot case in Washington, D. C., that "church influence" has never been used in politics in Utah.

The patron Saint of Republicanism in Utah lost no time in printing Bishop Stevens' recommend, which, along with the following circular letter, was sent to every bishop in Utah, and to thousands of devout Saints who were not bishops.

"Salt Lake City, Utah, October 26, 1892.

"Bishop ———

"On learning that certain influential persons have, in public and private, attacked the moral character of Brother Frank J. Cannon, the Republican candidate for delegate to Congress, for the purpose of defeating his election, I took occasion to communicate with Bishop Stevens of Ogden in regard to the matter. He sent me the following reply, which I send you for your information, with the request that you, in fairness, give it proper publication, leaving the people to judge as to the worthiness of Brother Cannon to be Utah's representative in the Congress of the United States.

"Yours for the right,

"JOSEPH F. SMITH."

By the aid of the bishop's agents, the ward teachers, Mr. Cannon's recommend found its way into the home of every Latter-day Saint in Utah. And by such contemptible methods did these "holy men of Israel" seek to elect a member of Congress.

In justice to Frank J. Cannon, with whom the writer has the pleasure of being acquainted, and in condemnation of the subsequent infamy of Joseph F. Smith's efforts to politically and socially destroy his brilliant and talented protégé, a few words at this juncture are necessary.

Bishop Stevens' recommend of Mr. Cannon was written late in October, 1892, and the particular offense for which Mr. Cannon had been tried in the bishop's court had been committed some years before; in fact, it was so ancient that Bishop Stevens could not remember the "wording" of the charge. But the good Bishop could remember that the court had to rely upon Mr. Cannon's confession to substantiate the charge. The fact that Mr. Cannon's transgressions were not so serious as was charged during the campaign is clearly proved by the decision of the bishop's court that "he confess his sins before the ward in public meeting and ask forgiveness," and the Saints "freely forgave him, there not being one dissenting vote." Either Mr. Cannon's transgressions were not of the unpardonable class, or the minimum penalty attached was an act of shameful favoritism because he was the son of the second vicegerent, or the fact that the fortunes of the Church-Republican party were then inseparably associated with the ecclesiastical fate of Frank J. Cannon. If he were not worthy of Bishop Stevens' recommend it was an act of political expediency, a shameless deception of the Saints and perpetrated by the present alleged vicegerent of God for the "welfare of Zion."

Freely granting that the recommend was genuine so far as it concerned Mr. Cannon's standing in the Church, will the slippery prophet Joseph F. deny that this procurement of the document and its circulation among the Saints was a plain and flagrant violation of the compact that Church influence should not be used in politics? And let President Smith answer if the use of that recommend was not in line with the infamous policy hatched in the Gardo House conspiracy.

In order to illustrate the never-failing hypocrisy and innate cussedness of Joseph F. Smith in his treatment of Mr. Cannon a few words will be added to the foregoing.

As stated in a preceding chapter, Mr. Cannon left the Republican party in 1900 and became a silver Democrat. At the birth of the American party in Utah in 1904, Mr. Cannon became a member of that organization. His intimacy with the doctrines and policies of the Mormon Church, and with the inner lives of the prophets, made of him a most formidable antagonist of Church control of politics and other objectionable features and practices. Recognizing the value of Mr. Cannon's ability as a brilliant and incisive writer, he was made editor of the Salt Lake "Tribune," the organ of the American party. His unanswerable attacks on the temporal power of the Mormon Church, and especially on the personal conduct of President Joseph F. Smith, brought down on the "Tribune" editor the anathemas of the holy prophets.

On January 22, 1905, the "Tribune" contained an editorial under the heading "An Analysis of the Church, No. 1." And on February 1st, another stinging editorial, "An Address to the Earthly King of the Kingdom of God," appeared in the "Tribune." In his "analysis," after stating the claimed special mission and authority of the Mormon Church, Mr. Cannon wrote as follows:

"The president is the only man authorized to deliver God's word to the world, and his declaration is absolute. . . . their authority is boundless and eternal. Even after the termination of their earthly career, they are to have certain celestial power and place as the apostles of the Son of God. . . . With such a faith, how little must seem all the mere earthly authorities; how contemptible all earthly governments; how puerile and paltry, as well as false, must seem all earthly denominations!"

In Mr. Cannon's address "To the Earthly King of the Kingdom of God," he penned the following scathing, but true and well-deserved arraignment of Joseph F. Smith:

"It is with no ill will toward your majesty that this address is directed to you. Your rule is absolute; I wish it might be glorious. You are the highest of earthly potentates, in that you hold the authority of the Creator of the world, and rule in His name; I would that your reign might be so filled with the excellences which we ascribe to Him as that all your subjects might be safe and free and happy, and that all the rest of the world, gazing on the splendor of this kingdom, might desire to join its prosperous and contented people. But, unfortunately, and even at the cost of my favor in your court, I must address to you these words of reproach. Having cast aside the constitution, you have cast aside the principles which it represented; having selected a servile ministry, you have not permitted the voice of your subjects to reach your ears; having been gluttonous of power and impatient of any assertion of claim against your sovereign will, you rule by affrighting the courage and conscience of all. As earthly king of the Kingdom of God you have loosed yourself, and at your pleasure you have loosed your ministers from all bonds."

In the Smoot investigation before the Senate Committee President Joseph F. Smith testified as follows:

"Our people are given the largest possible latitude for their convictions, and if a man rejects a message that I may give to him, but is still moral and believes in the main principles of the gospel and desires to continue in his membership in the Church he is permitted to remain and he is not unchurched. It is only those who, on rejecting a revelation, rebel against the Church and withdraw from the Church at their *own volition.*"

While the above is somewhat ambiguous it is sufficiently clear for application in the case of Mr. Cannon.

According to President Smith's testimony about the "largest possible latitude" that could be "given" to the Saints, would be to "reject a message" that he might "give to them." Because President Smith is a prophet, seer and revelator, his "message" would necessarily be a "revelation." And the rejection of one of his revelations would be equivalent to rejecting him as a prophet. But, according to President Smith, a man might even commit heinous offenses and if "still moral" and believed "in the main principles of the gospel" he would be permitted to remain and would not be "unchurched."

Unless Joseph F. Smith is "the church" Frank J. Cannon was well within his rights when he rejected the former as a prophet, seer and revelator. There was absolutely nothing in Mr. Cannon's editorials that indicated that he had abandoned his lifelong faith "in the main principles of the gospel," or that he was in a state of rebellion "against the church" as a church. Nor was there the slightest evidence that Mr. Cannon desired to "withdraw from the Church" at his own "volition." He had merely availed himself of the terms of the rule enunciated by the Lord's alleged prophet when cornered by the uninspired Senators of the United States, and while endeavoring to impress on the people of the world, that, since the Son of Man, the Mormon prophets are the most gentle, charitable and long-suffering of all the sons of men. The sequel well illustrates the insincerity of President Smith.

The teachers of Mr. Cannon's home ward in Ogden labored with him and endeavored to induce him to retract his objectionable criticisms in the "Tribune," but without avail. The author of the editorials stood squarely on the truths enunciated in them. On the 14th of the following March, Frank J. Cannon was excommunicated for "unchristian-like conduct and apostasy."

In Mr. Cannon's case, the "unchristian-like conduct," so far as the specifications went, consisted in the exercise of free speech within his church and in telling a part of the truth about Joseph F. Smith, which constitutes lèse majesté in the Mormon Kingdom of God, in every instance punished by banishment.

No sooner had Mr. Cannon been excommunicated than the ancient scandals were revived and circulated by members of the Church and referred to as the actual reasons for Mr. Cannon's "apostasy" and excommunication, which is the invariable custom of the prophets in all cases where excommunication is voluntary or involuntary. That infamous practice is for the purpose of discouraging apostasy, and to punish by social ostracism the Mormon who dares to question any policy of the "Lord's anointed." In the efforts to discredit Mr. Cannon the Deseret "News," the mouthpiece of the prophets, was an eager and useful agent in the work of detraction.

In Mr. Cannon's case those charges were more than unusually unjust. Whatever the offending of Mr. Cannon prior to October, 1892, it had been unanimously condoned by those who knew him best and loved him most for his liberality, for his solicitude for the comfort of the poor and for his unvarying kindness and helpfulness to, and charity for, his fellowmen. And inasmuch as Mr. Cannon's offending since the issuance of Bishop Stevens' recommend consisted in just criticism of the chief prophet, the personal vindictiveness manifested by Joseph F. Smith in his public and private besmirchment of Mr. Cannon's character proves to what abysmal depths the intolerant and bigoted prophets descend in order to discredit an "apostate" Mormon. The case may be briefly stated as follows: If the current reports concerning Mr. Cannon were true he should have been excommunicated instead of receiving condonation. If not true, his subsequent excommunication for criticising a bigoted criminal was an act of unspeakable tyranny.

Notwithstanding the frantic efforts of President Smith and his inspired political heelers to put Utah into harmony with the Republican administration, the Democrats won by a plurality of 5,811, the actual vote of the respective parties being as follows: Rawlins, Democrat, 18,201; Cannon, Republican, 12,390; Allen, Liberal, 6,987.

As an illustration of the doubtful character of Prophet Joseph F. Smith's inspired efforts to make Utah Republican so that the dominant Church might be in harmony with the Republican administration at Washington, Grover Cleveland was elected President of the United States. And it is somewhat singular that if Joseph F. Smith is a real, simon-pure prophet, the Lord did not give him a "hunch" as to the results of that campaign. The only explanation of his failure to get advance divine information on that question is found in the fact that he was politically hob-nobbing with the ungodly Gentile Republican chairman, Charles Crane, and failed to notice that the revelation wires between Earth and Kolob had become crossed. That a lesson was learned from the result of Gentile association, is proved by the fact that, since Mr. Crane, the chief prophet has seen to it that no one but devout Mormons have been entrusted with the State chairmanship of the Utah Church-Republican party.

But the Democrats derived very little comfort from the small plurality the prophets had permitted them to retain.

(Note.—An exception to the statement in last sentence of the next to the last paragraph, which was written prior to the campaign of 1908, should be noted. During that campaign Colonel C. E. Loose, a close Gentile friend of Apostle Senator Smoot, was in charge of the Church-Republican forces, and was no doubt chosen for that position because of pro-Smoot, rather than pro-Mormon leanings; and because of the further well-known fact that Apostle Smoot is seeking to succeed himself in the United States Senate. In time, if faithful, the Provo "Colonel" will receive his reward.)

CHAPTER XLII

POLITICAL INCIDENTS OF 1893 AND OF 1894—THE PROPHETS SUCCEED IN PLACING UTAH IN THE REPUBLICAN COLUMN

The story of the political incidents of 1893 and of 1894 can be briefly told.

The storm that had been aroused among Mormon Democrats by the interference of the leading church dignitaries prior to the election of 1892 had impressed upon the latter the necessity of more gum-shoeing and less personal activity in politics.

The campaign of 1893 was for members of the Territorial Legislature and in which the Democrats were successful in maintaining a small majority. The Liberal party was also in the field with a legislative ticket for Salt Lake County, and succeeded in electing several members, among whom was Judge Orlando W. Powers, heretofore briefly mentioned, and who was an eminent lawyer from Michigan. In 1885 President Cleveland appointed Judge Powers to the position of Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah. During his incumbency of that position, which extended over a period of about sixteen months, there were about one hundred cases of polygamous offenses tried in Judge Powers' court. In his enforcement of the law against polygamists he incurred the displeasure of the Mormon people, especially Joseph F. Smith, who, as before pointed out, could not comprehend how a Democratic Judge could be justified in punishing Democratic criminals. During his long political career in Utah the Judge has dwelt in the shadow of that ancient hatred, but no word of complaint has ever reached the public. The rod that smote him has frequently been kissed, and in thus returning good for evil Judge Powers has proved himself a greater man and better Christian than the prating priests who have pursued him with their venomous anathemas.

The election of Joseph L. Rawlins to Congress was a blessing in disguise for those who were praying for statehood for Utah. Mr. Rawlins brought his magnificent energy and his splendid ability as a clear, forceful and logical speaker to bear on the question of statehood for his constituents. The evidences that the Mormon leaders would attempt to continue their despotic grip on the proposed State had been fully demonstrated in the campaign of 1892. But Utah's Delegate believed in the Mormon people, and voiced his faith in them in the following excerpt from a speech delivered before Congress on the subject of statehood for Utah:

"But the people of Utah—I think I can speak for them on this question—mean, I believe, what they say. They are engaged in no scheme of fraud or treachery by which to deceive the Nation. Having made this pledge, and in this pledge ask this action by the American Congress, I think I can say for them that they will stand by it though the heavens fall."

In his efforts for statehood Mr. Rawlins was handicapped by the lack of sympathy from those who were to be the largest beneficiaries of the passing of Uncle Sam's stern government of Utah. The Mormon leaders disliked the Utah Delegate because of two unpardonable defects of character. First, Mr. Rawlins was a Democrat, and the prophets didn't care to have his party receive any credit for securing statehood for Utah. Second, Mr. Rawlins was an "apostate" Mormon, and for that reason they hated and distrusted him.

In order to rob Mr. Rawlins and the Democratic party of any credit for obtaining statehood for Utah, the Mormon leaders accepted the services of Isaac Trumbo, who became the special agent, pleader and lobbyist in Washington for the Mormon church. Mr. Trumbo was formerly a resident of Utah, but removed to California, where he made a fortune in mining. Mr. Trumbo early recognized the probability of Utah's admission to the Union, and there was immediately hatched in his brain a very active senatorial bee. Mr. Trumbo also early recognized the fact that the Mormon leaders are not "ungrateful" to those who servilely serve them; and that it was easier for him to climb to the lofty position of Senator on the "grateful" shoulders of the prophets than on any natural ability that he possessed. Therefore Mr. Trumbo rented the Gardo house and again became a "legal" resident of Utah. And that his sole motive for returning to Utah was the activity of the senatorial bee is proved by the fact that he returned to California as soon as he discovered that a son of one of the prophets was out after the same job, and that the Mormon leaders had no further use for him.

On July 16, 1894, the enabling act was approved. Mr. Rawlins was still in Washington. During all those months of patient working and waiting, he had made no claims of special service, nor any bid for recognition for the splendid service he had rendered the people of Utah.

As an act of political expediency, treachery and despicable ingraditude, the following telegram speaks for itself:

"Salt Lake City, Utah, July 18, 1894.

"Colonel Trumbo:

"The Shoreham, Washington, D. C.:

"From the days of our travail in the wilderness we have hopefully looked forward to the time when our Territory should be recognized by the Nation as an honored member of its family of States, and while we now accept, with hearts full of thanksgiving and praise to the God of all nations for what he hath so marvelously and wonderfully wrought, we rejoice with and congratulate you on the successful termination of your labor, which has resulted in Utah's enfranchisement and political deliverance of her people; for while your hand has not been seen and others claim all the honor, those who know the facts fully appreciate your efforts and fully accord to you their heartfelt gratitude for the deep interest you have taken in the matter.

"WILFORD WOODRUFF,
"GEORGE Q. CANNON,
"JOSEPH F. SMITH."

In justice to the revered memory of President Wilford Woodruff, it should be ever remembered that he had absolutely nothing to do with the subject matter of the above untruthful message. As before stated, he was well along in life, fully eighty years of age, when men are little inclined to reading or to the study of public questions, and he should be relieved of all responsibility for the presence of his name to the telegram, and for participation in other questionable matters to be narrated.

The object in the silly laudation of "Colonel" Trumbo, and the corresponding effort to belittle the efforts of Mr. Rawlins, is so apparent as to require no further attention.

That there may be no quibbling regarding the fact that Joseph F. Smith heartily indorsed the falsehood, direct and implied, in the message to Trumbo, a portion of a speech delivered by the former in the Seventeenth Ward, Salt Lake City, on October 10, 1894, during the campaign of that year, is herewith given. President Smith said:

"If I had been the Republican party for the last thirty years, I would not have granted statehood to Utah, because it was generally believed that her people were, to a man, Democratic, and under those circumstances I, as a Republican, would not have admitted Utah, however much she might have importuned me to do so.

"I cannot believe that when the prospect changed, and the likelihood that Utah would be Republican, that the Democrats would, of their own volition, have passed the enabling act. It is the Republican minority in Congress who are to be thanked for the boon of statehood. I do not believe that any honor is due Joe Rawlins for the gift of statehood, and I believe that by the grace of the Democratic party Utah will enter the Union a Republican State. No thinking man believes in his heart that Joseph Rawlins deserves any credit for the passing of the enabling act."

Every line of the first paragraph of the above excerpt discloses the despotic, bigoted, intolerant, even brutal, nature of Joseph F. Smith. The doctrine of "equal and exact justice to all men" seems never to have pierced his dwarfed and partisan brain. If there be the smallest sense of shame in the moral makeup of Joseph F. Smith he should again read the following excerpt from the prayer for amnesty which, in 1891, he and other Mormon leaders addressed to the President of the United States:

"When the men of the South who were in rebellion against the Government in 1865 threw down their arms and asked for recognition along the old lines of citizenship the Government hastened to grant their prayer."

Had Joseph F. Smith, instead of Ulysses S. Grant, been President of the United States, he would not have answered their prayer. Why? Because the "men of the South" were Democrats. Had Joseph F. Smith, instead of Benjamin Harrison, been President of the United States, that Mormon prayer for pardon would never have been answered in the affirmative. Why? Because the Mormon people were "generally believed" to be, "to a man," Democratic. And in his hysterical zeal to get from under the laws of the United States, so that he might continue to live unmolested with his plural wives, Joseph F. Smith was eager to enunciate a policy that would have dishonored George the Third. And this despotic prophet poses as the only agent on earth of the gentle, merciful and charitable Nazarene! As a further lesson in Christianity, Joseph F. Smith should commit to memory the following imperishable words of the immortal Lincoln:

"That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth."

Then, as a self-claimed "holy man of Israel," Joseph F. Smith should read the just and merciful words of General Grant to General Lee, who represented the men of the South who had laid down their arms. General Grant said: "No, General, not a horse nor a mule; you will need them for your spring plowing."

When Democratic Oklahoma petitioned for admittance into the Union, a Republican Congress passed the enabling act, and President Roosevelt, while not entirely in love with her constitution, signed the proclamation which said to her, "Come in."

The reader, whether Mormon or Gentile, should carefully compare the lofty spirit manifested by Lincoln, Grant, Harrison and Roosevelt, who were merely the uninspired representatives of a free people, with the shriveled, dwarfed, bigoted and intolerant spirit of Utah's alleged vicegerent of God on earth.

"I cannot believe that when the prospect changed and the likelihood that Utah would be Republican, that the Democrats would of their own volition have passed the enabling act."

When Joseph F. Smith uttered the above sentiment, he mirrored an atrophied soul that cannot understand, "believe," that it is possible for a man or party to perform an honorable or gracious act without having in view a dishonorable or partisan object. The Democratic majority in Congress knew that the "prospect" in Utah had "changed," and that there was a "likelihood that Utah would be Republican." But when convinced by Utah's Delegate that the Mormon people were sincere, Congress hesitated not in doing its plain duty to Utah.

In his inability to believe that the Democrats would perform an unselfish act, Joseph F. Smith unintentionally paid them a high compliment.

"It is the Republican minority in Congress who are to be thanked for the boon of statehood."

The foregoing sentence, from the inspired lips of Joseph F. Smith, was an insult alike to the intelligence of Mormon Democrats and Republicans. According to Joseph F. Smith's inspired logic, the Democratic minority in Congress should be credited with passing the "homestead law," giving the slaves their freedom, high tariff, the "full dinner pail," the passing of all the anti-Mormon legislation, etc., etc. And by the same logic the Democratic minority in Congress should be held responsible for the panic of 1907. In fact, Joseph F. Smith's long experience with the absolute rule of one man in Utah was such that the rule of majorities is incomprehensible to his prophetic mind. His dwarfed conception of honesty in men, and of the simplest laws of cause and effect, evidently impressed him with the idea that "Colonel Trumbo," the paid Republican lobbyist of the Mormon prophets, had more influence with the Democratic majority in Congress than able, earnest, Democratic "Joe" Rawlins. Joseph F. Smith was the one whom Chairman Charles Crane and a coterie of office-seeking Republicans put to the front on all possible occasions to defeat the party that was then in a death-struggle with the Mormon oligarchy for political liberty in Utah. Had an uninspired political writer and speaker voiced the speeches and writings of the Mormon prophet he would have been laughed, or kicked, off the stump, and burned in effigy. Was Joseph F. Smith honest in his vagaries? If so, he should be in a madhouse instead of being the leader of an honest and confiding people. If not honest, then are the seemingly bitter criticisms herein made well deserved and the critic amply justified?

Soon after the division on party lines in 1891, several newspapers began showing symptoms of dissatisfaction with the Democratic party, and by the close of 1894 there were not more than half a dozen Democratic papers in the Territory, which included the Salt Lake "Herald," one of the most influential journals in the inter-mountain region. One of the back-sliding newspapers was the "Inquirer," a daily published in Provo, of which John C. Graham was the editor. Mr. Graham had been a very enthusiastic Democrat, and withal, a devout Mormon. Soon after the political division the Inquirer Publishing Company was organized and Apostle John Henry Smith became President. Immediately following the transfer Editor Graham became a rabid Republican. There are two well founded suspicions in connection with the transaction. First, that Elder Graham was set apart to be a Republican; second, the Mormon Church furnished the money to enlarge the paper. The second suspicion was fully justified in that Apostle Smith was not financially able to afford the luxury of a newspaper, and was in a good position to become the agent of the church in the business of running newspapers in the interest of the church Republican party. An incident that strongly supports the above charge recently occurred in Richfield, Sevier County, Utah. The "Reaper," an influential paper, was owned by a couple of rather independent non-Mormons. For the publication of a mild criticism of the policy of the church in sending an Apostle to the United States Senate, the owners were called "on the carpet" and given to understand that another attempt to regulate the affairs of the church would result disastrously to their newspaper. Several thousand dollars were invested in their enterprise, and they were forced to surrender. Later on the men again exhibited symptoms of rebellion, and in order to avoid trouble they sold out to a number of leading Mormons of Richfield. Among the latter was the president of the Sevier Stake of Zion, and fully three thousand dollars of tithing money went into the Reaper Publishing Company.

In addition to the valuable aid President Joseph F. Smith and Apostle John Henry Smith rendered the Republican party in 1894 the Bishops and gum-shoers were unusually active. The latter went among the Saints and told them that it was the desire of President Woodruff that they vote the Republican ticket and that Frank J. Cannon be elected.

The election returns were as follows: Cannon, Republican, 21,343; Rawlins, Democrat, 19,324; Gaut, Populist, 550. Cannon's plurality being 1,819.

CHAPTER XLIII

ISSUES SHARPLY DRAWN—POLITICAL FREEDOM OR SLAVERY?—RULE OF "CONSENT" INTRODUCED BY THE PROPHETS

For dramatic incidents, for intensity of feeling and party bitterness the campaign of 1895 in Utah has had few equals in the United States.

The principal question was the adoption of the State Constitution which had been formulated by the convention during the winter of 1893 and 1894.

In addition to the State officers there was to be elected a representative to Congress and a legislature whose duty it would be to elect two United States Senators.

Each party realized the importance of the approaching struggle, and each put forth every effort to gain the victory.

Charles Crane, the Gentile chairman of the Republican party, resigned that position and announced his candidacy for Governor of the coming State. The selection of Charles Crane for the first chairman of the Republican party was good politics on the part of the church leaders, as it aided in allaying the suspicions of Utah Gentiles in the matter of the sincerity of the political division. The remainder of Charles Crane's political career is brief and will now be recorded. He had served the purpose of the prophets in aiding them to transform an almost solid Democratic Territory into a safe Republican majority within four years. He had been a willing tool in the circulation of the "Nuggets of Truth," of Joseph F. Smith's "Another Plain Talk," Bishop Stevens' "recommend," and in every way had aided the work of the Mormon gum-shoers. On the morning of the election of 1894 Charles Crane telegraphed and had it bulletined in every voting precinct in Sanpete County, the especial domicile of the Scandinavian Saints: "President Woodruff has just voted the Republican ticket." The fact was that no one but the aged President himself knew how he voted. Charles Crane had hobnobbed with the Republican apostle John Henry Smith, and had associated with President Joseph F. Smith, who was the intimate adviser and friend of the Republican chairman. Charles Crane had been a faithful servant and loyal political lackey for the Mormon prophets; he had earned his reward, but, when they had no further use for him, they cast him into the political waste basket on the flimsy pretext of his former record. He was defeated in the convention.

George M. Cannon succeeded to the chairmanship vacated by Mr. Crane. Mr. Cannon was the son of Angus M. Cannon, president of the Salt Lake Stake of Zion, and also was a nephew of President George Q. Cannon. Notwithstanding the fact that the new Republican chairman was an intellectual weakling, compared with his predecessor, he was well within the inner circle of the prophets, where he might avail himself of unstinted inspiration under which the campaign was to be run.

The State Republican Convention nominated Heber M. Wells for Governor. Mr. Wells was the son of Daniel H. Wells, who during the stormy years of polygamous "persecution," was second counsellor to President Brigham Young. Heber M. Wells was a banker, a man of good executive ability, and withal of considerable independence and stability. And as such he proved to be a sore disappointment to the prophets.

For Representative to Congress the Republicans nominated Clarence E. Allen, who has heretofore been mentioned as a man of ability, of high educational attainments and an implacable anti-Mormon.

For Supreme Judge the Republicans nominated Charles S. Zane, who had occupied the position of Federal Supreme Judge of Utah and as such was distinguished for his rigid enforcement of the laws against polygamy, for which he was heartily hated by the prophets.

The acceptance of Professor Allen and Judge Zane was a bitter pill for the Mormon leaders, and was no doubt swallowed by them because of their hysterical longing for statehood, in the attainment of which it was absolutely necessary to hoodwink the Gentiles into the belief that church and state in Utah had been irrevocably divorced. And in that the prophets were eminently successful.

The Democrats were fortunate in securing the services of Judge Orlando W. Powers for State Chairman.

For Governor the Democrats nominated John T. Caine, who, as a devout Mormon, had ably and faithfully represented the Mormon people as their delegate in Congress during the years when his constituents were defying the efforts of the Government to enforce the laws against polygamy and unlawful cohabitation.

Brigham H. Roberts received the nomination for Representative to Congress. Mr. Roberts has been previously introduced as the author of "Missouri Persecutions" and of the "Rise and Fall of Nauvoo." In addition to his exceptional gifts as a writer Mr. Roberts is an able speaker, a clear, forceful and logical debater. He had early affiliated with the Democracy, which he had aided with his unusual grasp of national questions, as also by his charming personality and magnetic force. In stature Mr. Roberts is about five feet nine inches, and in physical appearance strikingly resembles the late Brigham Young. A leonine cast of features completes the picture of B. H. Roberts. Not only was Brigham H. Roberts a stalwart in politics, but a stalwart in his church. The Mormon leaders had early recognized his ability and devotion to the church and had elevated him to the office of one of the first seven presidents of the seventy, which was next in importance to that of apostle.

The Democrats had early declared for the election of the United States Senators by popular vote, and in order to make the innovation as nearly practicable as possible the party, in convention, placed Joseph L. Rawlins and Moses Thatcher at the head of the Democratic ticket for the United States Senate. While it was an admirable selection so far as the personality of the candidates was concerned, the nomination of Moses Thatcher was a political mistake, and inexcusably inconsistent. Moses Thatcher was an apostle, and the Democrats had early and persistently claimed that because of the peculiar relation of apostles to the rank and file of the Saints, all apostles should be non-partisan, and thus be ever ready to pour oil on the troubled political waters rather than, by their presence in politics, raise the temperature to boiling heat. The Democrats had not denied the constitutional

BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS

rights of the prophets, seers and revelators to be active in politics, but inasmuch as the first presidency and apostles of the Mormon Church occupy even a closer relation to the Latter-day Saints in things spiritual and temporal than do the Pope, cardinals and bishops of the Roman Catholics, it was urged that the presence of the Mormon chiefs in politics would be grossly unfair to the Gentiles, and would cause heart burnings and jealousy among the Saints. Apostle Thatcher was among the first to discern the danger of apostolic political activity and, as before stated, introduced a resolution in a meeting of the apostolate prior to the political division deprecating the advent into politics of members of his quorum.

As a matter of fact, Democrats could cite the high example of Presidents George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, Apostles John Henry Smith, F. M. Lyman and others in their fervent aid of the Republican party in extenuation of Apostle Thatcher's presence in politics. But the fact of his nomination for Senator, rendered null and void, as well as inconsistent, in the years to come, the protests of Democrats against the sending of a Republican apostle to the United States Senate. There was, however, this saving grace: By the silly onslaught of Joseph F. and John Henry Smith on Moses Thatcher's Ogden Opera House speech they had placed the Democratic apostle under the ban of the prophets. In that respect the nomination of Apostle Thatcher was more in the nature of a defiance to church interference than an endorsement of it. And the sequel will prove that the prophets regarded the nomination as an act of defiance and of rebellion against the "constituted authority" of the "holy priesthood."

In view of prior interference by the Mormon priesthood and the certainty that it would continue, the Democrats adopted the following mild but significant plank:

"We declare for the total separation of church and state, for the sake alike of civil and religious liberty."

The adoption of the plank just quoted, and the nomination of Apostle Thatcher formed a combination that was calculated to arouse the ire of the prophets. It was equivalent to shaking red rags in the face of a bull. It was a Democratic bid for a fight, and the party got all it was looking for.

Under the experienced and able generalship of Judge Powers the Democrats were making an enthusiastic and magnificent campaign. By October first the cheering news went out from headquarters that after a close canvass of the Territory, and giving the "doubtfuls" to the Republicans, the former had a safe majority of twenty-five hundred votes.

But, from an apparently clear sky a thunderbolt dropped into the Democratic camp. The great general conference of the Mormon Church adjourned about October seventh, and was succeeded by the usual priesthood meeting, consisting of presidents of stakes, bishops of wards, high councilmen and other leading elders from all parts of Utah.

During the priesthood meeting Joseph F. Smith, in very guarded terms, gave the elders to understand that Moses Thatcher and B. H. Roberts were out of harmony with their quorums and the first presidency in that they had accepted political nominations without first getting the "consent" of their superiors in office.

Up to the time of the priesthood incident there was absolutely no rule in existence that required any Democrat, no matter what his ecclesiastical position, to obtain the consent of Republican prophets before becoming a candidate for political honors. Necessarily a rule of that kind would place the political machinery of Utah entirely in the hands of the Mormon leaders. According to the exigencies of the times, the prophets could give their consent to Republicans and withhold it from Democrats, or vice versa. By their dictum they could cripple either party at their pleasure, and the Saints—the "independent contingent"—would soon learn the sign and vote accordingly. In that way either party could be rewarded or punished. And under the operation of that rule the prophets would be immune from punishment for sexual crimes committed under the guise of polygamy.

The severe criticism of Apostle Thatcher by Presidents Smith and Cannon served notice on those present that it was the desire of the church authorities that the Democratic party be defeated. And that impression was carried to every city, town and hamlet in Utah.

Whether premeditated or not, the Smith and Cannon arraignment of Moses Thatcher placed him in the position of special champion of the God-given right of the people of Utah to select their political leaders without first seeking "counsel" of the Mormon oligarchy, and of the inalienable right of freemen to accept nominations without first securing the "consent" of the leaders of any church on earth, and especially of those of opposite political faith.

A Mormon Democrat went from the priesthood meeting to Democratic headquarters and said to Judge Powers: "We are defeated," and as nearly as he could remember repeated the words used by Joseph F. Smith in his condemnation of Thatcher and Roberts.

After more than four years of sparring between the prophets and the Democracy the issue was clearly and sharply defined. It was to be the struggle for political liberty against the combined forces of a hierarchal despotism.

The great majority of the Democratic party was composed of Mormons. Would they stand by their guns?

Sunday, October thirteenth, was a busy day throughout the Land of Zion. The brethren who had visited the conference were, as usual, "called to the stand" and requested to "report" the essence of the discourses delivered by the prophets. And the returned brethren were not slow in responding. They were not backward in informing the Saints that Apostle Thatcher and Elder Roberts were out of harmony with the chief prophets because they had presumed to accept political nominations without first having obtained the consent of their ecclesiastical superiors. A few of the more glaring instances of those "reports" will be cited:

Elder George C. Parkinson, president of the Oneida (Idaho) Stake of Zion, who was present at the priesthood meeting and preached at Brigham City the Sunday following, told a large congregation of Saints that because of the rebellious spirits manifested by Thatcher and Roberts in political matters, the first presidency desired their defeat. It is almost needless to add that Elder Parkinson was a dyed-in-the-wool church Republican. He was then, as he has since been, an authorized ecclesiastical meddler in Idaho politics with the same end in view—the political supremacy of the Mormon church. On the same Sabbath, October thirteenth, the good bishop of the Snowville ward near Brigham City told the Saints how the prophets wanted them to vote.

At a political meeting held on October fifteenth in Richfield, the headquarters of the Sevier Stake of Zion, the good Bishop Brandley spoke of the priesthood meeting in which Thatcher and Roberts had been denounced, and told the voters that it was their duty to obey the priesthood.

During a Sabbath meeting held in Moroni, Sanpete Stake of Zion, Bishop Irons informed the Saints of the disguised decree that the prophets had rendered against Thatcher and Roberts; that it was the duty of the Saints to obey the first presidency, and that when they "say black is white it is your duty to say black is white."

While only a few of the instances of priestly interference during the campaign of 1895 have been mentioned, they are sufficient to prove that the prophets were desperate in their determination to defeat the two rebellious Democratic nominees. And in so doing those "holy men of Israel" would also defeat the Democratic party and thereby keep a sacred pledge they had previously made with the chairman of the National Republican Committee to the effect that Utah should go into the Union a Republican State..

CHAPTER XLIV

HALT IN DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN—UPRISING OF THE MORMONS

Judge Powers' familiarity with the political methods of the prophets prompted him to act decisively. He put the matter of the disciplining of Thatcher and Roberts squarely up to the Mormon Democratic voters.

As many as possible of the members of the Territorial Committee were hurriedly summoned and the conditions laid before them.

There were three alternatives—Should the Democratic party ignore the disguised threats of the prophets to defeat two of its nominees and proceed with the campaign, and thus go down to certain defeat? Should the party's delegates be reconvened and the question of church interference be made the paramount issue of the remainder of the campaign? Or would the Democrats take down their ticket and vote against the adoption of the Constitution on the ground that, because of church domination of politics, Utah was not prepared for statehood?

The decision of the committee was unanimous for the reconvening of the late delegates from each county in another convention to be held on October twenty-second.

In the meantime, reports of Joseph F. Smith's denunciation of Moses Thatcher had reached the remotest villages in Utah and had aroused the indignation of every liberty-loving Democrat in the Territory.

The Republican press of Utah, ever truculent to the slightest wish of the prophets, called the uprising of the Democrats a "grand stand play," made for the purpose of minimizing the humiliation of the "defeat that surely awaited them."

From all parts of the Territory letters and telegrams poured in on the Democratic chairman. Each communication breathed unmistakable indignation because of the efforts of the prophets—Joseph F. Smith was merely their mouthpiece—to cheat the Democracy out of what would have been certain victory, and each letter and telegram pledged unyielding support to Judge Powers in the fight for franchise undefiled by priestly control. A few of those communications are herewith reproduced, and it is well to add that fully nine-tenths of the signers were prominent Mormons.

"Dear Sir—I am greatly obliged to you for sending me complimentary tickets to attend the Great Democratic State Convention to-day, but owing to circumstances I am not able to attend. I should be delighted to be present at such a gathering of Democrats in championing the cause of 'equal rights to all and special privileges to none.' All hail, Democracy.

"MRS. BETHSHEBA SMITH."

The lady who sent the above letter to Judge Powers is a devout Latter-day Saint, and is the relict of President George A. Smith, who in life was one of the counsellors of President Brigham Young. "Aunt Bethsheba," as she is affectionately called by all who know her, is yet hale and hearty, and is the president of all the Mormon relief societies throughout the world. The letter of that grand old lady breathes a true spirit of liberty, and it is sad to relate that, like thousands of other Mormon Democrats, it was her last declaration for "equal rights and exact justice to all." The inexorable power of the Mormon despots hesitated not to snuff the flame of liberty alike in men and women.

"Hon. O. W. Powers, Chairman, Democratic Territorial Committee:

"The Democrats of Cache County again unite in declaring for absolute separation of church and state. We oppose the idea that men should be compelled to get permission from ecclesiastical authorities before exercising their political rights. We deny that Democrats are religiously bound to follow the advice of Republicans in making up Democratic tickets. We shall uphold every legitimate effort of our party to resist and disavow such pretensions if any such have been made. Stand firm for the right

"J. H. Paul, Noble Warrum, Jr., G. W. Thatcher, Joseph Monson, I. C. Thoresen, Arthur W. Heart, Joseph Kimball, H. J. Matthews, Wm. Haslam, H. A. Campbell, E. R. Owen, Martin Woolf. Jesse S. Hancey, Newell W. Kimball, Wm. Sparks, J. M. Blair, John Dahle, J. L. Payne, Aaron F. Farr, Jr., Thos. L. Obrey, Joseph H. Olsen, James C. Orr, Frank K. Nebeker, Alma Olsen, D. A. Reavill, James Loftus, Don. C. Musser, Thos. Leishman, Fred Turner, Jos. Quiney, Will G. Farrell, M. A. Hendricks, S. M. Molen, H. G. Hayball, W. G. Reese, Chas. W. Maughn, B. G. Thatcher, Jos. Wilson, William Edwards, Samuel Clarke, F. G. Robinson, John Robinson, A. D. Smith, G. M. Thompson, John Bench, John M. Wilson."

(Telegram.)

"Fairview, Utah, 15th.

"O. W. Powers:

"Resolved, We, Democrats of Fairview, heartily indorse the action of our worthy chairman and pledge our continuous support to our esteemed friends, Thatcher and Roberts, in their stand for untrammelled freedom. Our motto: 'On to victory.'

"H. De Fries, F. Christensen, Guy Wilson, A. Tucker, Joseph Seely, Committee."

(Telegram.)

"Manti, Utah, 14th.

"Hon. O. W. Powers, Democratic Headquarters:

"Further declarations of non-interference from the church are useless; they are in the field against us; give no quarter, but fight it out for liberty and Democracy and all good Democrats will stand by you.

"Joseph Judd, Wm. K. Reid, Julius Christensen, Wm. Richens, Alex. Tennant, Earnest Hardy, Ward Stevensen, Dr. Storey, Hugh Sloan, Geo. Billings, Jr., Walter Stringham, Jr., Stephen Voorhes."

(Telegram.)

"Mount Pleasant, Utah, 14th.

"O. W. Powers:

"We, the Democrats of Mount Pleasant, heartily indorse your action and will uphold you in demanding non-interference of church in political matters.

"W. W. Woodring, Chairman; A. B. Williams, Secretary; J. B. Porter, Treasurer; Soren Christensen, Chairman Campaign Committee; C. M. West, C. C. E. Peterson, A. J. Syndergaard,

W. A. Averett, L. P. Neilson, James Wilson, M. G. Rolph, H. A. Tait, Henry Erickson, A. J. Peterson, D. H. Latham, T. E. McGraw."

As an illustration of the intense feeling created among Mormon Democrats by the remarks of President Joseph F. Smith and George Q. Cannon, and of the ridiculous inconsistency of the new political rule enunciated by those leaders, a resolution unanimously adopted by the Cache County Democrats assembled in convention at Logan, on October 14th, is herewith submitted:

"Resolved, That we especially deprecate the latest exhibition of Republican inconsistency, by which it is alleged that the Democratic nominee for Mayor of this city (Newell K. Kimball, counsellor to the bishop of the Second Ward), must go to the Republican nominee for the same office (Orson Smith, president of the Cache Stake), and get his consent before accepting the nomination on our ticket; and we ridicule the claim that Republican nominees have some sort of religious right to make or to control nominations on Democratic tickets. We hold, to the contrary, that the electors of this Commonwealth are, and of right ought to be, free and independent in the exercise of their political rights, and that the pretension recently set forth by our local political opponents, under guise of church discipline, to the effect that American citizens must go to them for permission to engage in political movements, is an attempt on the part of local ecclesiastical officials already nominated on Republican tickets to dictate who shall and who shall not be nominated as their opponents. We ask the people to ponder well on the enormity of this claim and to rebuke its arrogance at the polls."

And such was the emphatic and unanswerable protest of Mormon Democrats against the political rule that, in time, was to be hopelessly fastened on the future State by the pretended vicegerents of the Almighty.

The remaining unsubsidized Democratic newspapers of Utah were outspoken in their opposition to further interference by the prophets in politics. One of those mild yet firm protests is herewith reproduced. It is selected because it presents in concise form a few of the wrongs the Democratic party had patiently endured from the Mormon oligarchy. The editorial is from the Provo "Evening Dispatch" of October 17, 1895:

"All Republican sophistry, slurs and innuendoes to the contrary, there is no denying the fact that the people of Utah are passing through a fiery ordeal, and we will attempt to state the position of the Democracy, as we understand it, in terms of moderation and in a spirit of 'equal and exact justice to all.'

"Before we proceed with the statement of the case we will point out a few incontrovertible facts that bear directly on the question at issue.

"Between the pretensions of the leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the ministers of the sectarian denominations there is a mighty difference. The leaders of the so-called Mormon church claim that they are especially inspired; that they hold communion with the Almighty and receive revelations direct from Him. On the other hand, ministers of other denominations make no such special claims. They believe in a general inspiration of themselves in which the entire human family is included, in a greater or lesser degree, according to the purity of their lives. But they do not claim to receive direct revelations regarding special doctrines and admonitions. There is also a like distinction between the relations of members of the Mormon Church to their leaders and the relations of the members of the sectarian churches to their leaders. The latter do not regard their ministers as being especially inspired, and do not regard themselves as being under especial obligations to obey them. The Latter-day Saints have implicit confidence in the spiritual and temporal teachings of their leaders and regard it as their bounden duty to listen to and obey their counsel. It was that implicit faith that enabled them to wring from nature in her most forbidding aspect the miracle that is present in the colonization of Utah. By that same faith a handful of half starved pioneers laid the foundation of this inter-mountain commonwealth.

"Twice each year the Saints go to the general conferences and with hands raised toward heaven as a token of their absolute sincerity, they vote to sustain the first presidency and the apostles as 'prophets, seers and revelators.' Without that faith the miracle of colonization could never have been accomplished. As the words of inspiration fall from the lips of those same prophets, seers and revelators they are as the voice of the Supreme Father speaking to his children. There is no wonder, then, that the Saints love and venerate their leaders; it is a logical sequence of the faith that is within them.

"With the above plain statement of conditions we will proceed with a partial enumeration of the wrongs which the Democrats claim they have endured at the hands of the church leaders.

"The results of the first election after the political division proved that Utah was overwhelmingly Democratic. Apostle John Henry Smith, for whom the people pray as a prophet, seer and revelator, repeatedly traversed the Territory in the interest of the Republican party. There were thousands that could not, there are thousands to-day who cannot, see any difference between John Henry Smith the beloved apostle and John Henry Smith the politician. The people reasoned logically. Said they: 'If Apostle John Henry Smith is inspired in his religious teachings he must have more than mortal knowledge of that which is best politically for the people.' They were not able, nor is any man competent, to determine where the divine ends and the purely secular begins. Thousands were converted to Republicanism because of their belief in inspiration. No Democratic apostle took the stump and followed up the Republican apostle with arguments for just and equitable tariff taxation, and eloquent pleas for the diffusion of wealth and power.

"When apostle Moses Thatcher broke the dead silence for the Democrats the greater portion of the harm had been done. But as that man of men stood before the convention in Ogden in May, 1892, and sentences fairly loaded with logic fell from his lips in language of lofty and touching eloquence, every nerve in that large audience thrilled with responsive sympathy. Each one of Mr. Thatcher's listeners knew that the man was inspired, because they knew that he was speaking the truth. Yet, with his knowledge of his influence with the people, Mr. Thatcher's keen sense of 'the eternal fitness of things' impelled him to decline all overtures to take part in the campaign..

"Mr. Thatcher's address was severely criticised by President

Joseph F. Smith and Apostle John Henry Smith. Figuratively speaking, they jumped on to it with their four feet.

"More than three years have elapsed since that Ogden convention. During these three years the Messrs. Smith have been active, and in many instances have been bitterly partisan. We all remember the famous and infamous 'Gibbs letter' wherein he stated that it was the wish of the first presidency that Cache County go Republican because of the beneficial effect it would have on the statehood question. All knowledge of Mr. Gibbs' letter was disclaimed by the first presidency. George F. Gibbs was then, as he now is, the private secretary of the first presidency, yet he was never disciplined for his infamous act of deception. We all remember how Frank J. Cannon's campaign was run under the inspiration of the 'Nuggets of Truth,' and a bishop's 'recommend' secured through the instrumentality of Joseph F. Smith. Also, how a copy of that same recommend was put into the home of every Latter-day Saint in the Territory of Utah.

"Democrats also remember how the aged President of the Mormon Church was induced to be present at a Republican jollification at Saltair Beach, and to occupy a front seat on the platform, and how the 'Tribune,' in glaring headlines, gloatingly announced the fact.

"We all remember that on the fateful election morning of last November, Charles Crane, the Republican chairman, telegraphed to every election precinct in Sanpete, and had it bulletined, that President Wilford Woodruff had just voted the Republican ticket, and that Sanpete County was carried for the 'party of great moral ideas' on the inference that Crane had told the truth. We remember something else; that since then President Woodruff denied the truth of that telegram. When Mormon Democrats remember the history of that grand old man and venerated leader and reflect on the way that he was dragged before the public and made to do duty as a Republican vote-winner, every heart swells with hot indignation at the party leaders, aiders and abettors of that most infamous method of carrying elections. For those misguided zealots who lent their aid and influence to such damnable political trickery there is inexpressible contempt and loathing in the hearts of thousands of Democratic Mormons, and try as hard as they may they cannot banish it. Yet, in those same hearts there is naught but respect and love for the man who stood by the side of the Prophet Joseph during the dark days, and the bitter trials of the early years of the Mormon Church, a repetition of which is unnecessary.

"In the presence of the Mormon priesthood, gathered from every part of Utah, Apostle Moses Thatcher and Elder Brigham H. Roberts were severely criticised by Republican high churchmen because they had accepted positions on the Democratic ticket without first having gained the consent of their superiors in the church—superiors in no other sense of the word. The rebuke came in the middle of the campaign, and as if by the dictation of the Salt Lake 'Tribune' which first enunciated the new doctrine that Democrats must obtain the consent of Republicans before they can become candidates for political offices.

"Had there been no stumping of Republican apostles, and had not Apostle John Henry Smith run for office and served as president of the constitutional convention, the priesthood incident would have created no turmoil, although the time—the middle of the campaign—and the publicity of the disciplining would have been regarded as singularly opportune for Republicans and inopportune for the Democrats, who could not help but regard the incident as a blow aimed at, and intended to compass, their defeat. 'How is it,' Democrats ask each other, 'that John Henry Smith has not been disciplined? How is it that George F. Gibbs has not been disciplined for his unwarranted use of the names of the first presidency in his infamous interference in Cache County politics? How is it that President Joseph F. Smith has not been publicly disciplined for his frequent exhibitions of intense partisanism and his relation to that "bishop's recommend"?' 'How is it,' they ask, 'why none others than Democrats have felt the lash of church discipline for entering politics?' These questions are pertinent and demand an answer at this time. We do not assert that the priesthood incident was premeditated, but its effect is just the same as if it were.

"Republicans, the foregoing recounts a few of the causes for complaint, and how we Democrats view the immeasurable injury we have sustained because of your greed for 'inspired' assistance.

"In the meantime let the 'Tribune' jeer, and let the intellectual pigmy who is presumed to be running the Republican campaign and those who endorse his sneers indulge in their childish tirades.

"Democrats, remember that the vindication of Utah and her citizens rests in your hands. See to it that the obligation is wisely, dispassionately and thoroughly done to the end that posterity will rise up and call you blessed."

CHAPTER XLV

DEMOCRATIC RECONVENED CONVENTION

October 21st, 1895, witnessed the gathering of the Democratic clans. From over the mountain ranges and from distant valleys and isolated hamlets the Democratic hosts flowed into Salt Lake City. The spirit of revolt was in the air. It beamed from the faces of the reconvened Mormon delegates, it gleamed in the crimson glare of the red lights along the streets; it was present in "America" and the "Star Spangled Banner" as those patriotic airs issued from a hundred instruments; it was present in the crash of the Democratic drum corps and the cheers of marching thousands. It was a glorious demonstration, an unparalleled outpouring of hearts that longed for political liberty. It was the mighty voice of Democracy protesting in thunderous tones against the union of church and state in Utah.

Had the Utah Democracy possessed the gift of looking into the future those peans of defiance and victory would have become wails of despair and defeat. Had they possessed a modicum of the inspiration they so freely credited to their prophets they would have marched with bowed heads and heavy feet while the bands played the "Dead March in Saul," and the muffled drums beat "taps" over the prostrate form of the "Goddess of Liberty."

On the morning of October 22nd, the delegates assembled in the Salt Lake Theatre, which was packed from pit to dome with enthusiastic and seemingly determined Democrats.

After the usual preliminaries the Secretary read the following call for the reconvening of the convention:

THE CALL

"Since the nomination of the Democratic State Ticket, through no fault of the Democratic party, there has arisen a crisis in the political affairs of this Territory. It has been caused by the efforts of designing and unscrupulous Republicans who have used and distorted the ill-advised statements of high church officials in order to secure their own designing ends. Efforts are being made to cause the people who have been taught to reverence authority to believe that the dominant church of Utah desired the defeat of the Democratic ticket. This condition of things needs the most serious consideration of every thinking man and woman. It presents to the people a question before which all others are dwarfed. It relates to the rights of persons and to the personal and political freedom of every individual. The Democratic party, which has ever been the party of the fullest freedom to the citizen, proposes to meet this issue and fight it out, that it may be settled for all time; that peace may come to the people of Utah; that the adoption of the constitution that is presented for the consideration of the people may not be defeated.

"It has no quarrel with any church. It admits the right of every society to govern and control its members in its own affairs, so long as the rights of the state, or the rights of other individuals are not encroached upon. Its grievance has been caused by those who are ready and willing to drag the cross of Christ in the mud and dust and filth of politics to advance selfish ends. It matters not whether this was occasioned by innocent motives or innocent action. The condition is here and the issue has been raised. There should be no injustice done to any man. There should be no interference with the rights of any church or of any individual; but for the good of Utah, as well as for the good of Democracy, the question should be met in a manly way, and in a manner that the people will know that Democracy has spoken and will act accordingly.

"Therefore, in view of conditions existing, in order that there may be issued a declaration of political independence, and for the purpose of declaring that no man nor no set of men shall hereafter use the power or the name of any church or ecclesiastical authority to control the votes or the political sentiment of any citizen, the Democratic State Committee, duly assembled at Salt Lake City on Monday, the 14th day of October, 1895, by unanimous vote, hereby directs the reassembling of the delegates that composed the convention that met at Ogden on the 5th day of September, 1895, and at Salt Lake City on Tuesday, the 22nd day of October, 1895, at the hour of 10 o'clock a. m.

"All delegates to the late convention are earnestly requested that, laying aside all business and excuses, they attend the convention for the good of Utah and all the people, and thus aid in settling once and for all one of the questions that has so long harassed all classes in this Territory.

"The convention will be also empowered to take such other action than that stated in this call as the exigencies of the occasion may require."

An address reciting the causes that led to the calling of the reconvened convention was then read. Inasmuch as the documents have hereinbefore been quoted and sufficiently discussed, only the introductory portion of the address will be given.

"ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE

"The Democratic convention of the Territory of Utah that assembled at Ogden City on the 5th day of September, 1895, having reassembled in extraordinary session at Salt Lake City this the 22nd day of October, 1895, in response to the call of the Democratic State Committee, issues this address and declaration to the people:

"The Democrats of Utah, recognizing that conditions have recently arisen imperatively demanding that the great Democratic party shall speak in no uncertain tones and forever declare the policy that should be taken by the State and by all followers of religious creeds in political affairs, deems it proper to review the series of events that have caused the reconvening of this convention and the issuance of this declaration.

"The first settlers of Utah came here with sorrow in their hearts. They followed their trusted leaders through travail and distress. They came here through a wilderness filled with savages that they might in these valleys obtain the liberty which they felt was unjustly refused to them in the States. They left homes and property. They had been harassed by mobs and had suffered from murder. As to whether they were at fault, or were the victims of persecution, history, when impartially written, will truthfully declare.

"Naturally they looked up to those who led them to their new home with trust and confidence. As a result there appeared to be a practical union of church and state. In most instances the political offices were filled with the ecclesiastical officers of the Mormon Church. At first there were no political parties in Utah. The people were thousands of miles from civilization, and even had they so desired, there was no opportunity for them to consider, to discuss and to align themselves upon the one side or the other of the great questions that divided the people east of the Rocky Mountains. With increased immigration there came those who disagreed with the Mormon people upon religion, and the conditions then changed to the extent that there was organized what was known as the 'People's Party,' or the 'Church Party.'

"THE HARRASSING CONTENTION

"Then began the long and harassing contention between men of different religious views. As might have been expected, the contest was waged with great bitterness, resulting in sorrow, antagonism, and much distress to both sides, which at times culminated in bloodshed.

"With increased facilities for communication with the outer world, new questions gradually forced themselves to the front. The people became more harmonious, and the time finally arrived when it was thought that the old issues should be dropped and that the bitterness of the past should be buried, never again to be revived. The local parties disbanded and a new alignment of the people was made along the lines of policy advocated by the Republican and Democratic parties. The Mormon Church in a most authoritative manner issued a manifesto abandoning one of the dearest tenets of the Mormon faith, and it thereby acknowledged the supremacy of the National Government in all affairs pertaining to the political welfare of the people."

The following from Judge Powers' speech is from the Salt Lake "Herald," which also contains a synopsis of the entire proceedings:

"POWERS' GREAT ADDRESS.

"The call of the Democratic State Committee that has been read to you this morning indicates to you the scope and purpose and the reason for your assembly again in convention. Seldom has it become necessary for any political party, after it has placed its candidates in the field, to ask that those men who named the candidates, who framed the platform for them to stand upon, should again assemble for the purpose of considering questions affecting the success of the party, as well as the weal or woe of the people. (Applause.) I doubt whether in any land, upon any occasion, that there assembled a deliberative body having a higher responsibility cast upon it, than rests upon the delegates of the Ogden convention that are again in session. (Applause.)

"You have met to discuss, to consider, and to act upon a question for statesmen; you are called upon to solve a problem and to advocate a principle for which men in all times since God said 'Let there be light,' and there was light, have been willing to lay down their lives. It is a principle of personal liberty—the principle of political freedom—the principle before which all questions are dwarfed. In all ages, when the people have sought to establish their rights, those who were in power and believed they were safely entrenched, have endeavored to laugh their efforts to scorn; they have ridiculed their motives; they have distorted their purposes; they have sought to belittle that which is as dear to the intelligent and liberty loving man as his life.

"In the present crisis that is now to be met by the Democratic party, history has repeated itself, and upon all hands men who believed they were about to secure the fruits of unlawful interference with the rights of the people, have cried down the idea of your reassembling and laughed at the thought that you had a grievance—have tried to belittle the question. History will again repeat itself when this convention shall have acted and the people shall finally have passed upon this issue, that is now thrust upon them, for they who laughed will be buried beneath the avalanche of votes. (Applause.)

"We are here, then, assembled upon a grave occasion, to consider a question that requires the highest statesmanship. If it were needed for me to say anything upon the subject, my words would be for you to approach that work as you would approach the act of making your will before going upon the field of battle. That which you do here to-day, not only will be a part of the history of Utah and America, but it will even inure to the weal or woe of people which, God knows, have had enough of sorrow, distress and suffering. (Applause.) If you act with moderation, yet with firmness; if you meet this issue in no spirit of passion; if you take from your minds all malice, if any there be therein, then your action will be that your children and your children's children will rise up and call you blessed for what you do this day. (Applause.)

"So the thought that I would suggest to you is, that you approach this question in the spirit that I have indicated, with no thought of wrong toward any man, but with the firm resolution that in the matters which are of the people and belong to the people, the people shall and will be free. (Great cheering and applause.)

"Those whose heads here are silvered with the frost and snows of many winters have but to turn their thoughts back to the long, the dark, the terrible night that Utah has passed through; you have but to consider the distress that you have witnessed—and it has not been confined to Mormons; it has not been confined to Gentiles—all the people here have tasted of the cup of bitterness that was thrust to their lips.

"It has been hoped that all that which caused the people so much sorrow and suffering, had been buried never to be revived. It had been hoped by us that henceforth there would be no division here politically upon religious lines—that no man would seek to play upon the religious feelings of the people. Year after year, campaign after campaign, there have been injected into our political affairs that which has been said would be, and that which should be, and that which hereafter shall be, kept out. (Applause.)

"It culminated in a recent occurrence that is a part of the history of this Territory, and true indeed were the words of those who in a spirit of sarcasm stated that the Chairman of the State Committee, recognizing that his party was defeated, therefore asked for the reassembling of this convention. I was confident of victory, the day before that fateful Monday, and it was an army fleeing from the battlefield on the Tuesday following. And why? Because in every nook and corner in the Territory there were men and women who were saying that our candidates and our party were under a ban. Our own people disheartened, knowing the power and influence of those in authority, knew not what to do, or where to turn; felt that without any fault on their part, a victory that was theirs by right was being in an unjust and wicked manner taken from them. So, upon carefully considering the situation, there came news in the papers, before we had taken any action, that our candidate for Congress was to be forced to resign, and there were remarks flying here and there as thick as snowflakes on a winter's day.

"There were questions coming and demands being made that action should be taken. Finally, the State Committee was assembled, and it considered this matter seriously and carefully for hours, and it determined that this question having been thrust upon this people at this time, it was the duty of the Democracy, which is always unterrified, to meet it like men. (Applause.) And it recognized that the people being the source of all political power, it could only be properly met by the representatives of the Democratic party coming from all the different quarters of the Territory, in convention assembled, so that when the word was spoken as to what should be done, it would be with the majesty of that great party founded by the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence. (Applause.) So we have asked you to assemble here to-day in a spirit of kindness toward all, but with the firm determination that we propose to march forward to victory. For my own part, when this news came to me, when I observed that our people were discouraged, I felt and I said that if we are to have the victory that was within our grasp taken from us by ulterior means, then we would know that this Territory was false to the pledges that it made to the nation; we would know that this people were not the honest people that they say to the world they are. We would know that we had far better remain here under the tutelage of the National Government, and we should not enter the Union under false pretenses, but that we should take down our ticket and vote down the constitution. (Tremendous applause.)

"But no sooner did the word go forth that your committee proposed to stand firm and to plant itself upon the eternal principles of human liberty and political freedom, that it proposed to give to every church the rights that it seeks for itself, as a political party, there came words of cheer. There came words of assurance from men who I had feared would distrust my motives, I having fought them as hard as I could in days gone by, but they said to me that they were with me in the fight, and I sent back the word to them that I was with them in this fight. (Applause.) So the course of the State Committee became clear; it was to march forward, though but twenty men should follow; it was to sustain the constitution of the State; it was to appeal to the people, and to call to their minds the fact that when they vote for the constitution, they vote against any union of church and state, and upon such an issue as that, as God is my judge, I would prefer to march with you to an overwhelming defeat than to enjoy victory gained by such means as the Republican party is using to-day in order to defeat the Democracy. (Tremendous applause.) For if we do not succeed in this campaign upon this issue, which will not down; if we do not succeed now, during our lifetime we can fight for that principle, and some day our children, or our grandchildren, will win, and then you will be remembered, when the men who seek to enjoy the fruits of Republican efforts and machinations are cast into oblivion. (Applause.)

"I have faith in the people. You have responded to this call in such a manner, that I am satisfied that there is no weakening; I am satisfied that we are to march forward to a victory that will cover Utah with glory, because she will enter the Union as a free State, the people having declared, as they will by their votes, that there is nothing theoretical, but there is here a practical division between politics and religion. (Applause.)

"Go forward into the fight; take the word of cheer to every hamlet in this Territory. Carry back to every man, woman and child the thought that I now give you, that this is a Democratic year, and that Democracy is going to win (applause); that it will not only be a victory for the Democratic party, but it will inure to the benefit of every man, woman and child, and close the door forever to religious hatred and persecution, and it will bring all classes nearer and nearer together; it will give us peace, and bury the animosities of the past. All this is a matter for which men can, and for which men should, fight. It is a principle ever living; it will write victory upon our banner in November. (Renewed and continued applause.)"

At the conclusion of Judge Powers' speech, he read a letter from Moses Thatcher addressed to the Chairman of the Democratic Territorial Committee, and to the members of the reconvened convention. After reciting that the condition of his health prevented him from being present during the convention, Mr. Thatcher sketched the causes that had led up to the necessity of again convening the delegates. While affirming his underlying loyalty to his religion, Mr. Thatcher's letter rang clear and unmistakable for the absolute divorcement of church and state, and for political liberty for his people. The letter was in every way worthy of the man and the occasion, and it is regretted that only the three concluding paragraphs can be quoted. They were as follows:

"Recent occurrences intensify the demand, as expressed in our state constitution, that state and religious matters must not be united, and while it is the duty of the state to protect the church in the enjoyment of the fullest religious freedom, the church must not attempt to dominate in civil affairs, and on this point I am with my party and do not hesitate to believe that our citizens, when given the opportunity, will vindicate and maintain their political honor.

"Believing, as I do, that the people of Utah will once more, at the polls in November, vindicate their integrity and preserve their honor, as I expect to do; I shall vote for the constitution; being ready and willing, in season and out of season, to do my part in maintaining the political rights, privileges and blessings of free institutions.

"And now, in conclusion, in view of what has recently occurred, should the members of the convention feel that it would be in the interest of the Democratic party in Utah to have my name withdrawn as a possible candidate for the United States Senatorship, you may regard my resignation as herein tendered. but should you still think that I should remain where your action at Ogden placed me, I shall be with you, head, heart and hand, to the end."

(From the "Salt Lake Herald.")

"A TREMENDOUS DEMONSTRATION

"There was applause all through the reading. It reached its climax, however, when Judge Powers, raising his voice, read the sentence containing the words, 'the church must not attempt to dominate the State, and on this point, I am with my party.' At this point Judge Powers stopped for a moment and before he could proceed the Cache County Delegation began to applaud and cheer. The house took it up and cheer after cheer rang through the house. At its height, Lyman Martineau, of Cache, who was in the pit, arose and waved his hat. The Cache Delegation arose and cheered. Then J. L. Rawlins came forward to the front of the stage waving his hat and cheering. The house responded, men and women waving hats and handkerchiefs, cheering, stamping, applauding and raising the roof. At the end of the address, there was a repetition of this scene, at the end of which a delegate from Morgan called for three cheers for Moses Thatcher, which were given with hearty good will. Never was such a scene witnessed in Utah as that which grew out of the reading of this manly, straightforward letter.

"Judge Dusenberry, of Provo, moved that the Committee on Credentials of the Convention make the list of delegates present. Adopted.

"Charles H. Hart, of Cache, moved the appointment of a committee on declaration and order of business of one from each county. Judge Powers waited a moment and then put the motion. There was a chorus of ayes and the contrary was about to be put when Charles Baldwin arose in the body of the house and said he wanted to oppose the motion. He was ruled out of order on the ground that he was interrupting a vote and the motion was carried.

"'This looks like "gag rule,"' said Baldwin.

"P. J. Daly moved that the motion be reconsidered, but as he had not voted, August B. Elder was compelled to come to his aid. On motion of R. W. Sloan, the motion was laid on the table.

"The roll was then called and the following were named as the committee:

"Beaver, G. H. Fennemore; Boxelder, Nels Jensen; Davis, B.

H. Roberts; Emery, William Howard; Garfield, not represented; Grand, not represented; Iron, Edward J. Palmer; Juab, H. J. McCune; Kane, C. W. Penrose; Millard, James A. Melville; Morgan, Joshua Williams; Rich, Aquilla Nebeker; San Juan, Jerrold R. Letcher; Salt Lake, A. T. Schroeder; Sanpete, Guy P. Wilson; Summit, John Boyden; Sevier, Bernard H. Greenwood; Tooele, E. A. Wall; Uinta, L. Johnson; Utah, S. R. Thurman; Wasatch, William Buys; Washington, Moroni Snow: Wayne, Richard W. Young; Weber, David Evans.

"BALDWIN'S VIEWS

"David Evans moved that the rules be suspended and that Mr. Baldwin be given an opportunity to express his views. This was carried.

"Mr. Baldwin said that his reason was that the motion was premature. An emergency had arisen and a convention was recalled for the purpose of finding out what the party wanted. How could a committee draft an address until it was known what the party wanted? If some fireworks only were to be let off, men used to pyrotechnics should be appointed. He wanted a full discussion.

"EVANS' RESOLUTION OF INQUIRY

"David Evans, of Weber, moved the following resolution:

" 'Whereas, It has been asserted that the language used at the recent priesthood meeting by Joseph F. Smith relative to the candidacy of Moses Thatcher and B. H. Roberts has been distorted, misquoted and misunderstood; now, therefore, be it

" 'Resolved, That the chair appoint a committee of five to wait upon the presidency of the church and respectfully ask for a verbatim report relative to the candidacy of said Thatcher and Roberts at said priesthood meeting, to the end that the public may know exactly what was said on that subject on said occasion.'

"Mr. Meloy. 'I move amendment to the resolution that the name of P. H. Lannan be substituted for the first presidency.' (Laughter.)

"This was ruled out.

"Mr. Evans said that he had always been opposed to union of church and state, but he believed that there should be a full understanding of the matter. Both President Woodruff and Joseph F. Smith have said there was no political significance in the remarks. They say their language has been distorted. Should we not know precisely what was said? We will not be catering to the church.

"Mr. Rawlins arose on the platform and was greeted with applause. He said that it would be a part of the duty of the committee on declaration, and moved that the resolution be referred to it with power to act.

"Judge Judd moved a recess until three p. m. Carried.

"AFTERNOON SESSION

"Some ringing speeches by leading Democrats.

"Owing to the fact that the committee on declaration required more time than was at first presumed necessary, the afternoon session was delayed until three-thirty, when Chairman Powers called the convention to order.

"Joseph M. Cohen read the report of the committee on credentials, showing that six hundred and fifty delegates were entitled to seats. The report recommended that each delegation be permitted to cast the full vote of the county. The report was adopted.

"The chair stated that the committee on credentials would require about twenty minutes more, whereat loud cries went up for Harris. There was no resisting the appeal, so Fisher Harris came forward and made one of his characteristic ringing speeches.

"Mr. Harris said in part there was very little for him to say, but as he sat in his chair at the morning session he heard the sound of coming years which tramped down the aisles of time, marching to battle for Americanism, headed by Democracy. There is no time to face an issue like the present. It has been said that he is in favor of withdrawing the ticket. He was not. He believed in fighting the battle out on the lines drawn, and was confident that Democracy would come back bearing the golden fruits of victory. Democracy was always first in all questions of political reform, and with the confidence he had in the people of Utah, he was assured of success. Republicans have prided themselves on being the patriots of the country. They have plucked the tail feathers of the eagle to make him scream from Appomattox to the present time. But where are they in this strife for American principles? Skulking, as usual, while Democrats are in the van carrying the colors of freedom. Back of the song breathes the spirit of the singer. Behind the canvas is the soul of the painter; behind the stars is the omnipotence of God himself; and behind Democracy is the undying principle of truth. We shall win the fight so sure as the sun rolls its accustomed course.

"REID OF SANPETE

"When Mr. Harris had finished, William K. Reid arose and said:

" 'The eyes of all Utah are on Sanpete and Sanpete is forty-six strong, all with you. So help us God, Sanpete is American, and they cannot sway us; for we are with the Democracy of Utah.'

"JUDGE JUDD SPEAKS

"Responding to a popular clamor, Judge Judd came forward and said:

" 'When the conference met and was dissolved another meeting took place, and, in hours, almost, the feeling went out that the candidates of the Democratic party were anathematized and were to be defeated. That is the occasion of your assembling. The Republicans say that this is a grand-stand play of O. W. Powers, but I tell you this is a grand-stand play of the people. (Cheers.) Heretofore in dealing with the Mormon Church in matters political, we have dealt with the question with gloved hands. But we are called here to-day in convention to deal with the matter and to speak plainly. Let us be men.'

"Judge Judd referred to the Trumbo circular bearing the telegram from the first presidency, and said that he was inclined to leave the political field; but when James Moyle had appealed to him to not desert Democracy, he vowed by the Eternal that he was in the fight to stay, and to fight for the principle of divorce of church and state. He believed that the people of Utah were greater than any priesthood. 'The people of America are watching this contest. The press of the country are watching Utah. It is going to announce to-morrow that Utah is American because this people is going to be true to itself. It is not safe to tamper with the liberties of the Anglo-Saxon blood, as history demonstrates. It is not safe to tamper with the people of Utah.

" 'Remember that when you leave this convention the fight is just begun. It will be whispered that this man and that have offended. Stand firm and say that no man can tamper with the rights of American citizenship. I believe the people appreciate the emergency, and are capable of meeting it.'

"The speaker criticised the course of the 'Tribune.' In days gone by it had criticised him for attempting to 'deliver Utah to the Mormon hierarchy' but to-day he stood fighting the battle of American freedom while the 'Tribune' is owned and controlled by the Mormon Church. Judge Judd quoted some of the recent editorials in which the 'Tribune' discussed the topic of apostasy.

"A voice: 'Judge, when was the "Tribune" baptized?'

" 'I will answer your question. It was baptized when the compact was made to send Frank J. Cannon and C. C. Goodwin to the United States Senate. Don't interrogate me too closely, old man, or I will tell you a whole lot.'

"KING'S ABLE ADDRESS

"Judge King said that he believed that the great body of Democracy was in favor of taking such steps that would emphasize the fact that they believe in absolute religious and political freedom. He spoke not only as a Democrat, but as a Mormon. He had worked in that church for years. The hope of his heart is with the success of that church. Religion is a divine attribute to which all should pay devotion. But until the day shall come when the King of Kings shall rule, the line between church and state must be strictly drawn and men must hew to the line.

"He has been a Mormon for years. If he understands the teachings and spirit of the church, all men are to be free and equal, and what is Cæsar's must be rendered unto Cæsar; and what is God's must be rendered unto God. It should not be difficult to determine where allegiance to the state should begin and end. There is a province for each. There is a line beyond which neither should go. He believes the Democratic party to-day, as in the past, will stand as the exponent of religious liberty and political freedom.

"It is a peculiar thing that when the Democratic party in this Territory lifted its voice for American principles, the Republican party, which has always made its boasts of being progressive and patriotic, stands like a wall against it. The Republicans should strike hands with the Democrats and say they wanted to see a fair contest and victory without any religious interposition. He would rather see the Democratic party go down in defeat again, again, and yet again, rising, phœnix-like, after every defeat until victory came at last, than to have the dishonor of submitting to such interference.

"'The Democratic party will make the issue. It will make no war on any church. That would be contrary to the principles of the founders of the party who wrote the Declaration of Independence. I want to tell you that on the morrow each Democrat must consecrate himself anew, his life and his services to the principles upon which our glorious party is founded. I do not believe that the Mormon people will show any ingratitude when the time comes for favors that have been given to them. If we go forward advisedly, courageously and cheerfully, victory will be ours, and this action of the party will be vindicated.'

"L. R. MARTINEAU

"Judge Powers then called upon Hon. L. R. Martineau, of Cache, who made a brief address.

"The speaker said that while he is no orator, the conditions which confront us are such that every man owes a duty to his fellow-man to speak. The people of Utah, if they shall adopt the constitution at the coming election, will vote against the union of church and state. Let every man stand by the principles of Democracy and work for its interest. There is a question at issue which involves the honor of young Utah. There are thirty thousand young Mormons here who love their church as they love their lives, but they love their honor more. The speaker believed they would vindicate that honor.

"JUDGE M'MILLAN

"Judge McMillan, of Ogden, was asked to speak and responded. At first he had doubted the wisdom of calling this convention. He thought the Democratic party should pay no attention to the question, but after looking over the magnificent assemblage he felt sure that the action taken would go forth to the people and they would endorse it.

"Although clouds lowered around the ship Democracy, the light was breaking in the east. Stand by with strong hearts and willing hands, and if the vessel goes down, whether in political sea, or ecclesiastical gulf, have the colors nailed to the mast.

"JUDGE H. H. ROLAPP

"Judge Powers, in a neat speech, introduced Judge Rolapp, of Ogden. The speaker spoke forcibly and to the point.

"He came to America to enjoy the rights of citizenship and was as firm in the faith as when he first sought liberty. He was proud of his membership in the dominant church, had vindicated its doctrines, and would be glad to do so once more. Under no circumstances would he allow any church to dictate his political opinions. He did not believe the church was attempting to dominate, but designing men were trying to manipulate matters. 'Come to Weber with a strong declaration of right and preach Democracy, and we will respond with a majority.'

"DR. ELLEN B. FERGUSON

"Judge Powers then introduced 'his first counsellor,' Dr. Ellen B. Ferguson.

"The speaker believed all women were Democrats by nature, because there is a sense of justice in their being which appeals for justice, for equal rights to all—special privileges to none. Although women are not permitted to do more than work for Democracy at present, the time is not far distant when two-thirds of them will vote the Democratic ticket. If you will stand to your principles like men, and, mind you—the women will be behind you and hold you up, you will win a victory. Is this country to rise superior to ecclesiastical authority in politics, or is it not? I think it is. The Republican eye is blinded to the situation. The bees are in their bonnets, else they would strike hands with the Democracy and fight for principle.

"The speaker believed that the convention met, not to elect candidates so much as to stand for religious liberty. She did not believe that the church desired to fasten the shackles on any one. The principles are one thing, the men another. And, while we are fighting for these principles, let our tongues be not used in denouncing principles, which in themselves teach nothing pernicious.

"Just as Mrs. Ferguson finished, several members of the committee on address were seen in the house, and a minute later Chairman J. H. Paul appeared upon the stage and announced that the committee was not yet ready to report. A recess was taken until seven o'clock.

"(Evening Session)

"DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS OF THE PARTY

"The First Regiment Band rendered the 'Hunting Song,' which provoked hearty applause. When this was over, the Roberts Quartette sang 'Just Before the Battle,' which, of course, was rewarded by an encore. They sang 'The Land of Washington,' a selection which demonstrated the patriotism of the audience, for never was such cheering heard in the Salt Lake Theatre.

"When the quartette finished, the committee presented the address which has already been quoted.

"Then began a free-for-all discussion of the 'Address to the People,' which is taken from the Salt Lake 'Herald' of October 23d.

"John C. Delamar, of Tooele, wanted to insert the names of those who had used church influence at Panguitch and other places in order that the people might know who they are. The motion to amend was seconded by Alfales Young, of Salt Lake, who wanted to know who the man was.

"'F. M. Lyman,' was the reply. Several objections were made, among them by Delegate Seaman and David Evans, of Weber.

"Professor Paul said the name of the man was in the hands of the committee, which had omitted to insert it because it was not deemed wise to use too many names and make unnecessary enemies; but if any one wanted the proof, they could get it by calling upon the committee."

(It is well to state here that the remarks made by Apostle F. M. Lyman, alleged to have been made in Panguitch, were made in Escalante, a town some thirty or forty miles southeast of Panguitch, and were similar to those made in Beaver, which were quoted in the affidavit of J. F. Tolton. It is also pertinent to add that the wily apostle attempted to squirm out of the allegation by denying that he made any such statements in Panguitch. —The Author.)

"J. B. Timony and R. L. Sloan favored the amendment.

"A. D. Gash, of Utah, wanted to go on record as wanting any man who violated the most sacred principles of government to be his eternal enemy. The people of Utah and the United States demand that Mr. Lyman's name be inserted.

"Judge McMillan reminded the convention that it was making history. It is possible that in the hewing to the line that some man's toes may be cut, but the toes ought not to be there. He believed the names should be inserted as a warning. The convention was not assembled to whitewash or malign, but to do justice. He demanded that the insertion be made.

"The amendment prevailed by an overwhelming vote, it being practically unanimous.

"Professor Paul then moved to strike out the paragraph adopted.

"Judge Judd moved to table Paul's motion, which was lost.

"By request, Judge Powers read the paragraph.

"Robert Sloan urged the adoption of the paragraph if true, but to strike out if untrue.

"Delegate S. R. Thurman, of Utah, opposed striking out. He didn't believe in censuring one man and omitting another when both were guilty. Hew to the line.

"Prof. Paul said that the committee had not the same amount of evidence in the Lyman case as in the others, and he did not want any evidence that could not be fully substantiated. Mr.

Schroeder stated that the evidence came to the committee on the written statement of two reputable citizens of Panguitch, and he was willing to rest his case.

"Judge Judd said that the convention had apparently arrived at a point where child's play began and manhood ceased. He thought the paragraph should be retained.

"It was retained by an overwhelming vote.

"P. J. Daly offered the following, which was seconded by H. J. Dinniny:

"That the Democratic party retire its ticket from the field.

"That it disband and work against the admission of Utah as a State.

"That all parts of the address in conflict with this resolution be stricken out.

"Mr. Creer moved to table the resolution, which prevailed.

"Mr. Daly said: 'I want to know whether "gag rule" is to prevail here or not?'

" 'The Chair is not here to answer conundrums,' was the reply.

"David Evans, of Ogden, said that he voted in favor of tabling the resolution, but that he believed that Daly's resolution was entitled to consideration, and would move its reconsideration. The convention reconsidered it, and H. J. Dinniny took the floor in advocating the passage of the Daly measure.

"Mr. Dinniny said it was utterly inconsistent to scold a little bit and do nothing else. We have said that the leaders have not kept their words. We all know that owing to the falsehood of the leaders of the Mormon Church, we were defeated last year in the last ten days before election. We were defeated because of broken declarations. Are we to declare the perfidy since 1891, and then only to declare we are free? The dearest thing to the leaders to-day is statehood. Now, in light of history, what in God's name can we expect when we get statehood? Under that we will have no state, but all church, and unless we defeat statehood, we will be defeated this fall. There are men who so much want statehood, that they will do anything for it.

"John N. Pike raised a point of order, but was ruled out.

"The speaker continued: 'Are offices so dear that you would purchase them with your liberty? Forbid it, Almighty God!

If you vote for statehood, you fasten upon your necks the yoke of the Mormon Church.'

"James H. Moyle advanced along an aisle, and in a voice drowning all else, said:

" 'I demand that the speaker be called to order.'

"This was received with cheers and applause. Chairman Powers stilled the tumult and asked for the point of order.

"Mr. Moyle said that when the Mormon Church was attacked, the people of Utah was attacked.

"Mr. Roberts was at the front of the stage immediately, saying that Dinniny was in order and had a right to speak as he wanted. The Chair so ruled. Mr. Moyle took an appeal, and the Chair was sustained by an overwhelming vote.

"Mr. Dinniny said that he did not mean the members, he meant the masters. (Voices: 'We have no masters.')

"The speaker said he meant the leaders of the church. The people will bear the yoke, and will deserve what will follow. (Groans from the gallery.)

"Judge Powers asked the police to keep order in the galleries.

"The speaker finally finished by saying that if a fight was made against statehood, the party would deserve the thanks of the nation.

"When Dinniny had finished, Roberts arose to reply amid cheers and applause. Calmly awaiting the cessation of the tumult, Utah's son looked in every way capable of answering the argument.

"Mr. Roberts, replying, said he was opposed to the resolution. In the address of the committee is a detailed statement of the grievances endured by the Democratic party in the past. He granted that they had been wonderfully patient, and admitted that victory was in sight this fall unless the party came to a standstill in wondering if church influence would again rob them of the battle.

" 'But in spite of all the influence that was used to defeat the Democracy in 1894, let it be known that there were nineteen thousand Democrats, good and true, who resisted. (Wild cheering and applause.) I ask if this is not good evidence that there is a determination to divorce the state from the church? (Prolonged applause.) I want to ask if, after such a magnificent declaration as this convention is, we are to be relegated back to Territorial conditions? Have we not shown you that we are in earnest? How are we to solve this difficulty? Take the ticket from the field? It cannot be settled in that way. The lines of battle are drawn. Shall it be written that the Democratic party retreated? I have always heard that the party fought the hardest in the face of difficulty. If our friends who presented this resolution will stand by that nineteen thousand who voted for Democracy last fall, we will have church and state divorced. (Cheers.) The constitution which we have formed declares that there shall be no union of church and state.

" 'I signed it in good faith, and I will maintain it. I hope that in justice to wronged people you will all vote aye. If it is adopted, it will become the supreme law of the land.

" 'The Democratic party asks no odds of any church, but it will appeal to the source of all power, the people. Those nineteen thousand men standing firm and true at the last election is an answer to Mr. Dinniny. This question must be settled, and it should be settled now; not fifteen years hence. Now is the time to act, and let us act for the people, for Democracy. (Great cheering.)'

"Mr. Roberts was never more earnest in his life. He was almost white. He was affected with a cold, but he was forcing home his great sentences with every tone, every muscle and word. His remarks brought forth the most enthusiastic applause, on one occasion the whole house rising and cheering him to the echo.

"RAWLINS FOR COURAGE

"Mr. Rawlins advanced to the front and was greeted with a great cheer. He was opposed to despotism in any form. Ecclesiastical despotism he most disliked. More than ten years ago less than fifty young men met and put forward a ticket on the same lines. They polled but few votes. In 1891 the Democrats looked forward with hope. He had never been deceived as to what would come, but he had relied upon the people and he had gone to them with the others to make the appeal to them. The party had learned that there were men willing to violate pledges, but they still went before them. He sketched the course of the party, the passage of the enabling act; his own pledge of the people's honor and honesty. He said to have stopped when Congress was about to act would have been to declare the people could not be trusted. He believed that if there was a people on the face of God's earth who would not vindicate their honor under such conditions, it was time it should be known.

"Under such conditions, knowing full well that men, inside and outside the church, would combine party and church if they could to ride into power. He made the declaration. He made it because he had always lived among the people and had conceived them to be an honest people. He knew they were God-fearing, and had given their confidence to their leaders. But he knew they would not uphold any man in an act of perfidy and dishonor. When that case was presented they would arise and decide it right. (Applause.) He had not thought it right to be swayed by men who are to do, by underhand means, what they dare not do openly.

"He did not think there was one Democratic candidate who was not willing to lay aside his office to help the people. The actions taken this year are but in line with what has been done in the past. Shall we now stop short? Shall we turn our voters into a disorganized mass? Shall we, representing at least half the people, thus acknowledge that, though it represents the honesty and solidity of the people, declare that we cannot trust ourselves and meet the issue? We have the patriotism of the people on our side, and a course that involves the whole peace of Utah. We appeal on a cause we know to be just. We did not pledge the Mormon leaders. We did not pledge the people to act independent of control. We have not asked for any influences for our victory. When the question came up before the Republican leaders of the East, they demanded assurance that this influence should be used to make Utah Republican.

"TRUST THE PEOPLE

"He said the Democrats may not win. People may be misled. He foresaw that would come. Men who have bitterly denounced the Mormon Church in the past are willing to take advantage of the things they have denounced. We may have to meet the Republican party, which lays as a shark in the wake of the ecclesiastical ship, taking whatever crumbs may fall. Republicans will encourage interference, so that they may have division of the spoils. It is not the Mormon leaders we must fight, but the Republican party taking advantage of all church influence possible.

"NO RETREAT

"It is not the part of courage or wisdom to retreat. If we should remain a Territory, we would be confronted with it. Outside interference might solidify the people under a Territory; under a state, there will be no excuse for this. We must make our appeal to the honest judgment of every voter in Utah. While the Republican party may put forward upon the church, yet there is some honesty and love of liberty in the Republican party. Those who believe must come tc our party as a place of refuge. Every Republican has used these influences, and every man who would fight for freedom must join our ranks.

"Let us place our reliance in the people. Let us appeal to them. If we fail, our principles must fail. No man must sell his vote in a free country. Men must not be allowed to lose their liberty. No citizen can be absolved from the duty he owes to the state because of his association with the church. With this issue, we may go to the people. The members of our party will not wait upon the pleasure of any ecclesiastical organization before acting upon any question of state in times of peace or war.

"ROBERT SLOAN

"Robert Sloan said that while he did not understand he was as good a Mormon as Frank J. Cannon, still he was a believer in its doctrines. But he allowed no man to dictate his politics. In this matter it would appear that this people were making progress. They are breaking away from undue influence. He favored submitting to the people. The people of Utah could be trusted in this emergency. The resolution of disbanding should be voted down, in the interest of the present and of generations unborn.

The boon of statehood is more than houses and lands, or gold and silver.

"SAMUEL KING

"Sam King, of Provo, declared that after listening to Senator Rawlins and Congressman Roberts, he was loath to say anything. But last fall, when it is claimed the church was used, all gains in the Democratic ranks came from the hamlets where lived the honest Mormons who resisted that influence. He argued in favor of trusting to the honesty, patriotism, and devotion of the Mormon people. He never had any yoke on his neck and never would. Submit the constitution to the people.

"MRS. ELLEN JAKEMAN

"Mrs. Jakeman said the convention was overlooking the women who were interested in this matter. Fight the battle out now. If Democracy is beaten this fall, the women will rally to the support of the party next fall.

" 'I appeal to you in the name of the women of Utah, the mothers of men, to act like men in this convention.'

"Mrs. Jakeman's closing sentiment was applauded to the echo.

"CHARLES BALDWIN

"Charles Baldwin said the logic was with the amendment. He said he had no bitterness. He had not been wronged. Statehood should be voted down. The address says that the last election was turned from victory to defeat. That means that enough votes can be changed. Make state lines and both committees will go around and see what is wanted. (Cries of 'No.') He knew enough of politicians to know they would do just such a thing.

"JUDGE POWERS

"Judge Powers, addressing the cnovention, said that all present knew his past political record. He had fought in the Liberal party until it was dissolved, when he joined the Democrats. He had faith in the Mormon people. (Applause.) They are good, hard, honest fighters, for he had met them in the open field. He was prepared to continue on, and march shoulder to shoulder to victory. There are no ifs or ands about it. And the victory will not be transitory, either. It will be permanent. Give the people a taste of freedom and they will never surrender. He was with the party, and the party was with him to a finish. He knew that a people that would go to the very doors of the penitentiary in support of their religious convictions, could be trusted.

"Hardy, of Sanpete, said that he had not only gone to the doors of the penitentiary, for his belief, but he had been inside. Sanpete is with the party. Shall the party retreat before a few members of the church? He was for a fight.

"DAVID EVANS

"David Evans, of Weber, made a few remarks explaining his position in moving for a reconsideration of the motion to table the Daly resolution.

"Following this, he called the attention of the convention to the progress made in Utah. Ten years ago it would not have been possible to have secured such a convention as this. And the way to secure further progress was to submit the question to the people.

"The resolution of Daly was overwhelmingly defeated and the address adopted.

"The convention, after passing a vote of confidence in Moses Thatcher, adjourned.

"At the request of the State Committee the declaration, including the 'nine articles of faith,' was to be read in every hamlet in Utah on the night of October thirtieth, and appropriate remarks made thereon.

"Boiled down, the entire labor of the reconvened convention was embodied in what the Democrats are wont to term their 'nine articles of faith.' The convention was unanimous in its adoption of the declaration which is as follows:

"1. That man may worship his Maker as his conscience dictates.

"2. That no state nor political body has the right to interfere with this great privilege.

"3. That man's first allegiance, politically, is to his country

"4. That no church, ecclesiastical body, nor spiritual advise should encroach upon the political rights of the individual.

"5. That in a free country no man, nor body of men, can with safety to the state, use the name or power of any religiou sect or society, to influence or control the elective franchise.

"6. That a trust is imposed upon each citizen in a free country, to act politically upon his own judgment, and absolutel free from control or dictation, ecclesiastical or otherwise.

"7. That no political party can be required to obtain th consent of any church or leader thereof, before selecting its candidates for public office.

"8. That no citizen, by reason of his association with an church, can be absolved from his duty to the state, either i times of war or in peace, without the consent of the state.

"9. That all men should be, and of right are, free to think free to act, free to speak, and free to vote; without fear, molestation, intimidation, or undue influence."

The condensed report of that remarkable convention, as give by the "Herald" has been quoted so that a clear understandin may be had of the questions at issue, and of the somewhat divergent opinions of the speakers.

Subsequent events clearly prove that P. J. Daly, H. J. Dinniny and Judge Baldwin were the only prophets who spoke during the convention. There was ever present a latent dread o arousing the ire of the Mormon prophets, and of alienating th sympathy of the Mormon Democratic voters.

It was a singular spectacle of men longing to be politically free yet unwilling to openly denounce those who had enslaved them.

In view of the paralysis that, in the near future, was to b the priestly heritage of the Utah Democracy, the protest—"We have no masters," was as untruthful as it was pitiful. However in the light of a political exigency, the quasi pandering to th prophets was the best that could be done. In fact, the wonder i that devout Mormons could be induced to frantically applau sentiments so entirely at variance with the fundamental prin ciple of their faith—implicit obedience to the prophets, or excommunication, on the ground of apostasy.

The convention proved beyond cavil, that one of the apostles was entirely sincere in his devotion to the cause of freedom for his people. And little did Moses Thatcher dream that his letter to the convention was but the introductory refrain to his ecclesiastical death sentence. In a corresponding degree the independence of B. H. Roberts cheered the Democratic host on to what seemed to be certain victory.

It should be kept distinctly in mind that the reconvened convention was not a political gathering. It was an uprising of strong men declaring for equal and exact justice to all. Fully ninety per cent. of them were Mormons, and that fact should be sufficient to silence all criticisms regarding the motives that brought together the magnificent assemblage. The consequences of that gathering cannot be measured in the light of immediate results. During the convention they planted the seed of American Liberty in thousands of sturdy breasts, seeds that will never perish until the despotic power of the Mormon priests shall have been broken. Because of it men have been excommunicated, and hundreds of loyal Mormon hearts have been filled with sorrow because of the duplicity of their leaders.

The Democratic uprising and protest against further interference by the Mormon priests in politics temporarily appalled the prophets. They distinctly saw that any further interference with the campaign for political enfranchisement would be to invite a schism in the church, the end of which was beyond the range of their abbreviated intellects to determine. They contented themselves with denying any intent to interfere and left the work of proselyting for the "welfare of Zion" to trusted agents and gum-shoers, who, as if of their own initiative, proceeded to further decimate the Democratic ranks on the specious plea that Apostle Thatcher and Elder Roberts were out of harmony with their "file leaders" and that the Democratic party was an apostate organization.

CHAPTER XLVI

DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN RESUMED—PROPHETS AGAIN VICTORIOUS

Fully a week had been lost in the Democratic campaign. Speakers were hurriedly returned to the various fields from which they had been called to attend the reconvened convention, and a hard effort to recoup their losses was made.

But the almost hysterical enthusiasm that prevailed in the reconvened convention, like any other kind of intoxication, could not endure for any great length of time. In the reaction that soon followed many of the Democratic Saints awoke to the fact that, notwithstanding the insistent convention denials, they were fighting their leaders. The prophets had announced their preferences for Republican success. They had openly declared that Thatcher and Roberts should be defeated, and that declaration had been thundered from a hundred pulpits by such unspeakably servile tools as George C. Parkinson.

In the various cities, towns and hamlets, the returned delegates were made to feel that they were out of harmony with their Republican brethren who were in complete harmony with the unanimous wish of the simon-pure prophets, seers and revelators. And thus the defiant "hip, hip, hoorays" of the Democrats became less frequent and enthusiastic. In addition, there was that oppressive something in the air that foreboded defeat and that aided in banking the fire of liberty that had been temporarily kindled in so many really patriotic hearts.

President George Q. Cannon was the only one of the prophets who essayed the rôle of inspired stumper in the pulpit after the reconvened convention. And, as if by the interposition of a just Providence, he came to grief. The incident was most amusing and is given herewith:

The Boxelder stake conference was held in Brigham City on October 29th and 30th. President Cannon and other high ecclesiasts were present. President Cannon was preaching on the subject of purity in politics, which, with the prophets at the helm, could no longer be "an iridescent dream." President Cannon referred to a man who had "stolen a municipal (Salt Lake City) election." At that juncture, Elder Seymore B. Young, the "first of the seven presidents of the Seventy," chipped in with the responsive remark: "And he is now trying to steal something else"—meaning the State of Utah.

"Yes," replied President Cannon, "and this man has troops of men and women following him." Meaning, of course, the Democratic party, an "apostate" Mormon mob.

The remarks of President Cannon were promptly reported to the Salt Lake dailies and the publication caused a sensation. Every one knew that Judge Powers was the man to whom President Cannon referred, and that the election was that of 1889, when Judge Powers led the Liberal party to victory by the magnificent majority of forty-one votes. President Cannon promptly and flatly denied that he had made any such statements. Judge Powers as promptly published affidavits to the effect that affiants heard the remarks. But President Cannon was obdurate until, in the church historian's office, he said to Apostle Young (son of President Brigham Young), "Brother Young, did I make those statements?"

"You certainly did," replied Apostle Young.

"My God, how could I have made those remarks and then have forgotten them?" This is the pitiful question credited to the humiliated prophet.

President Cannon lost no time in publishing an apology to Judge Powers. Democratic Saints comforted themselves with the explanation of the singular incident to the effect that the Lord permitted President Cannon to utter that which was in his (Cannon's) mind, and then caused him to forget it; that in his denial and consequent humiliation he might be punished and thereby taught that his interference in politics was displeasing to the Almighty.

The election returns were as follows:

Representative to Congress.	Allen (Republican)	20,563
	Roberts (Democrat)	19,666
	Hogan (Populist)	1,150

For Governor.	Wells (Republican)	20,833
	Caine (Democrat)	18,519
	Lawrence (Populist)	2,051

The returns show that many Republican Saints declined to vote for C. E. Allen; and that a large number of Gentile Democrats voted for H. W. Lawrence, an "apostate" Mormon, rather than support John T. Caine, who was known to be a devout but broad-minded Mormon.

The small plurality for the Republicans clearly proves that Judge Powers' ante-election estimate of 2,500 to 3,000 plurality for the Democrats was entirely conservative, and that if the prophets had kept their inspired hands off the people's franchise, the Democrats would have been victorious, and none knew that to be a fact quite so well as the Democratic Saints.

It is well to add that the crucial test through which the Democratic Mormons had passed in the campaign of 1895 proves beyond question that when the blighting political power of the church authorities shall have been broken, the Mormon people will be as loyal to the Government of the United States as any others who live within her borders.

For United States Senators the church Republican Legislature elected Frank J. Cannon and Arthur Brown. Subsequently, as provided by law, those gentlemen cast lots for the long term, in which Mr. Cannon was successful.

CHAPTER XLVII

APOSTLE MOSES THATCHER DEPOSED

As before stated, prior to the priesthood meeting of October, 1895, no rule, oral or written, requiring active ecclesiasts to obtain permission from the Mormon leaders before entering politics or accepting nominations for office, had been publicly promulgated. Had there been any desire or intent on the part of the prophets to be fair or just toward the Democratic party, the rule would have been announced at the time of the division on party lines, and when the Saints were told to join any party they pleased and to be loyal to their political convictions. But, as we have seen, the only rule governing the political conduct of the priesthood was annunciated in secret to the effect that Republicans should take the stump while Democrats should remain "silent." Had the rule of "consent" been then promulgated, the presence on the stump of Apostle John Henry Smith and the meddling of Presidents Smith and Cannon in politics would have been so flagrant that all fair-minded men, irrespective of party, would have protested.

If the experience of the prophets prior to 1895 had convinced them that in order to avoid confusion in religious work, a rule of consent were necessary, why did they not promulgate it at the April conference preceding the campaign of 1895? That course would have enabled Messrs. Thatcher and Roberts to get the necessary "consent," or, if refused, to remain out of politics or to enter the contest with a full knowledge of the consequences. But coming in oral form, with no definite stipulations as to the offices in the priesthood that were to come within the rule, and in the middle of the campaign, proves conclusively that it was merely an expedient expressly designed to defeat the Democratic party.

The health of Apostle Thatcher had been slowly but surely failing under the terrific mental strain induced by the knowledge that he was under the ban of his associates in the priesthood.

And by the time the April conference convened, he was in a state of almost physical collapse.

Prior to the April conference of 1896 the first presidency had formulated the political rule, orally promulgated six months previously, for presentation to the Saints. The address is popularly known as the "political manifesto" and is herewith given in full. In order to economize space that would be necessary in an analysis of the document, the more significant portions have been italicized. The discriminating reader will easily detect the political intent of the smooth and deceptive epistle to the Saints:

"To the Officers and Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in General Conference Assembled:

"Dear Brethren and Sisters—Every Latter-day Saint will recognize the value of *union,* not only in action, but in matters of faith and *discipline.* As to the *rights and authority* of the priesthood of the Son of God, it is of the *highest importance* that there should be *no difference of opinion* among the officers and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Feeling the necessity of a correct understanding of this principle, we deem it proper at this sixty-sixth anniversary of the organization of the Church in these last days, to prepare and present a statement on the subject, embodying the doctrine which has always prevailed in the Church and our views upon it. We are prompted to adopt this course at the present time because of events which have happened during the late political contest. A great diversity of opinion on the subject has been expressed, and even by leading elders in the Church, which latter fact has naturally led in some instances to considerable *division* of sentiment.

"It is of *great importance* that we *understand each other,* and that there be *harmony* in our teachings. It is especially important that those teachings shall be in *accordance with the rules and regulations and doctrines* which have been taught, and which have prevailed from the beginning until the present time, having not only the *sanction of undisputed usage, but the approval of all faithful leaders in the Church and of Him in whose name and by whose authority they act.*

"In the late exciting contest, to which reference has been made, the presiding authorities in some instances have been misunderstood. In other instances they have been misrepresented, which has led to a wrongful conception of their real views. It has been asserted too freely, and without foundation, that there has been a disposition on their part to interfere with individual liberty and to rebuke in some men a course which was applauded in others. In a word, that they have appeared to desire to assert and maintain an unjust and oppressive control over the actions of the members of the Church, and in thus doing have endeavored to effect a union of church and state. In the heat of political discussion, assertions have been made and arguments used conveying to the public mind a false idea concerning the position of the officers of the Church, and leaving the impression that there has been and was now being made an attempt to accomplish the union above referred to. Now that the excitement has passed, and calmer reason has resumed its sway, we think it prudent to set forth, so that all may understand, the exact position occupied by the leading authorities of the Church.

"In the first place, we wish to state in the most positive and emphatic language that at no time has there ever been any attempt or even desire on the part of the leading authorities referred to to have the Church in any manner encroach upon the rights of the State, or to unite in any degree the functions of one with those of the other.

"Peculiar circumstances have surrounded the people of Utah. For many years a majority of them in every portion of the Territory belonged to one church, every reputable member of which was entitled to hold and did hold some ecclesiastical office. It is easy to see how, to the casual observer, it might appear singular that so many officers of the Church were also officers of the State; but while this was in fact the case, the distinction between Church and State throughout those years was carefully maintained. The President of the Church held for eight years the highest civil office in the community, having been appointed by the national administration, Governor of the Territory. The first Secretary of the Territory was a prominent Church official. An Apostle represented the Territory in Congress as a delegate during ten years. The members of the legislature also held offices in the Church. This was unavoidable; for the most suitable men were elected by the votes of the people, and, as we have stated, every reputable man in the entire community held some Church position, the most energetic and capable holding leading positions. This is all natural and plain enough to those who consider the circumstances; but it furnished opportunity for those who were disposed to assail the people of the Territory, to charge them with attempting to unite church and state. A fair investigation of the conditions will abundantly disprove the charges and show their utter falsity.

"On behalf of the Church of which we are leading officials we desire again to state to the members, and also the public generally, that there has not been, nor is there, the remotest desire on our part, or on the part of our co-religionists, to do anything looking to a union of church and state.

"We declare that there has never been any attempt to curtail individual liberty—the personal liberty of any of the officers or members of the Church. The First Presidency and other leading officers *did make certain suggestions to the people when the division on party lines took place.* That movement was an *entirely new departure,* and it was *necessary in order that the full benefit should not be lost, which was hoped to result from this new political division,* that people who were *inexperienced* should be *warned against hasty and ill-considered action. In some cases they were counseled to be wise and prudent in the political steps they were about to take,* and this with *no idea of winning them against their will to either side.* To this extent, and no further, was anything said or done upon this question, and at no time and under no circumstances was any attempt made to say to voters how they should cast their ballots. Any charge that has been made to the contrary is utterly false.

"Concerning officers of the Church themselves, the feeling was generally expressed in the beginning of the political division spoken of, *that it would be prudent for leading men not to accept office* at the hands of the political party to which they might belong. This counsel was given to men of both parties alike—not because it was thought that there was any impropriety in religious men holding civil office, nor to deprive them of any of the rights of citizenship, but because of the feeling that it would be better under all the circumstances which had now arisen to avoid any action that would be likely to *create jealousy and ill-feeling*. An era of peace and good will seemed to be dawning upon the people, and it was deemed good to shun everything that could have the least tendency to prevent the consummation of this happy prospect. *In many instances*, however, *the pressure brought to bear* upon efficient and popular men by the members of the party to which they belonged was of such a character that they *had to yield* to the solicitation to accept nomination to office or subject themselves to the *suspicion of bad faith* in their party affiliations. In some cases they did this without consulting the authorities of the Church; but where important positions were held, and where the duties were of a responsible character, *some did seek the counsel and advice* of the leading Church authorities before accepting the political honors tendered them. Because some others did not seek this counsel and advice, ill-feeling was engendered and painful sensitiveness was stimulated; misunderstanding readily followed, and as a result the authorities of the Church were accused of bad faith, and made the subjects of bitter reproach. We have maintained that in the case of men who hold high positions in the Church, whose duties are well defined, and whose ecclesiastical labors are understood to be continuous and necessary, it would be an improper thing to accept political office or enter into any vocation that would distract or remove them from the religious duties resting upon them without first *consulting and obtaining the approval* of their associates and those who preside over them. It has been understood from the very beginning of the Church that no officer whose duties are of the character referred to has the right to engage in any pursuit, political, or otherwise, that will divide his time and remove his attention from the calling already accepted. It has been the constant practice of the officers of the Church to consult—or, to use our language, to "counsel"—with their brethren concerning all questions of this kind. They have not felt that they were sacrificing their manhood in doing so nor that they were submitting to *improper dictation*, nor that in soliciting and acting upon the advice of those over them they were in any manner doing away with their individual rights and agency, nor that to any im-

proper degree were their rights and duties as American citizens being abridged or interfered with. They realized that in accepting ecclesiastical office they assumed certain obligations; that among these was the obligation to magnify the office which they held, to attend to its duties in preference to every other labor, and to devote themselves exclusively to it with all the zeal, industry and strength they possessed, unless released in part or for a time by those who preside over them. Our view, and it has been the view of all our predecessors, is that no officer of our Church, especially those in high standing, should take a course to violate this long-established practice. Rather than disobey it, and declare himself defiantly independent of his associates and his file leaders, it has always been held that it would be better for a man to resign the duties of his priesthood; and we entertain the same view to-day.

"In view of all the occurrences to which reference has been made, and to the diversity of views that have arisen among the people in consequence, we feel it to be our duty to clearly define our position, so there may be no cause hereafter for dispute or controversy upon the subject:

"First—We unanimously agree to and promulgate as a rule that should always be observed in the Church and by every leading official thereof, that before accepting any position, political or otherwise, which would interfere with the proper and complete discharge of his ecclesiastical duties, and before accepting a nomination or entering into engagements to perform new duties, said official should apply to the proper authorities and learn from them whether he can consistently with the obligations already entered into with the Church upon assuming his office, take upon himself the added duties and labors and responsibilities of the new position. To maintain *proper discipline* and order in the Church, we deem it absolutely necessary; and in asserting this rule, we do not consider that we are infringing in the least degree upon the individual rights of the citizen. Our position is that a man having accepted the honors and obligations of ecclesiastical office in the Church cannot properly, of his own volition, make those honors subordinate to or even co-ordinate with new ones of an entirely different character; we hold that unless he is willing to *counsel with* and *obtain the consent* of his fellow-laborers and presiding officers in the priesthood, he should be released from all obligations associated with the latter, before accepting any new position.

"Second—We declare that in making those requirements of ourselves and our brethren in the ministry, we do not in the least desire to dictate to them concerning their duties as American citizens, or to interfere with the affairs of the State; neither do we consider that in the remotest degree we are seeking the union of church and state. We once more repudiate the insinuation that there is or ever has been an attempt by our leading men to trespass upon the ground occupied by the State, or that there has been or is the wish to curtail in any manner any of its functions. "Your brethren,

"WILFORD WOODRUFF,
"GEO. Q. CANNON,
"JOS. F. SMITH,
"First Presidency."

During the April conference of 1896 Apostle Moses Thatcher was confined to his room in his Salt Lake residence by sickness from which his friends feared he would never recover. During the conference a messenger from his quorum presented the political manifesto to Moses Thatcher for his endorsement. The incident can best be stated by an excerpt from a letter written by Apostle Moses Thatcher several months afterwards. Following is the excerpt:

"Logan, Cache County, Utah, November 11th, 1896.
"Elder Lorenzo Snow, President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, and Members of the Quorum.
"Dear Brethren:—

"By way of preface to a request I am about to make of you, my brethren, I humbly ask your attention while I review, briefly, the reasons which lead me to ask it.

"My name was regularly presented to the people and I was regularly sustained in my position in the Church until the sixth day of April, 1896. On that day at noon, and never before, a document was presented to me for my signature. I was then confined to my room with what I considered at that time a fatal illness. I was given about an hour and thirty minutes within which to consider a matter of vital importance, not only to myself, but, in my opinion, to the people. I could not see my way clear to sign it without stultification, and I so informed you by letter. In about two hours from that time my name was unceremoniously dropped from the list of Apostles presented to the conference for confirmation. No reason for your action was given, and my letter of explanation was, for reasons best known to yourselves, suppressed."

Under the advice of his physician the summer of 1896 was passed by Moses Thatcher in Logan Canyon. It was hoped that the cool mountain air, the aroma of the pines, and the quiet and restfulness of the mountain solitudes would aid in his restoration to health. Those hopes were partially realized.

The fall conference of the Mormon Church was, as usual, convened early in October. With a refinement of cruelty unparalleled since the days of the Inquisition, Moses Thatcher was deposed from the apostolate. Not satisfied with the act of deposal, sermons surcharged with ill-concealed hints, innuendoes, intolerance and hatred for the as yet desperately ill and defenseless apostle, were preached by George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith and others. The intense hatred of the man whose only crime was that of championing the cause of human liberty was illy disguised by an affected display of regret, superior saintliness and crocodile tears that, to those who knew the innate hypocrisy of those self-posing prophets, and after the lapse of twelve years is inexpressibly nauseating.

In vain did Moses Thatcher plead for a bill of specifications. The prophets had accused him before a congregation of ten thousand Saints, not one of whom dared to voice the indignation that was pulsating in his brain. In vain did Moses Thatcher plead that, inasmuch as he had been accused in public, a public trial should be given him. But with flippant dictum, so characteristic of these latter-day "holy men of Israel," they declared the incident closed.

Not content with deposing Moses Thatcher, the prophets and their unspeakable minions followed him into private life with such persistent venom as would have disgraced a horde of savages. The object had been accomplished; Moses Thatcher, stripped of all offices in the priesthood; ill, silenced, as they hoped, and in the retirement of home was an object lesson to the Saints of the swift and terrible judgment that is the heaven-decreed lot of those who, in the name of liberty, protest against the despotic rule of the "Lord's anointed."

While the voice of the deposed apostle could not be heard in his own defense, his fertile brain was active. In a series of letters to Lorenzo Snow, the president of his former quorum, Mr. Thatcher made an elaborate and unanswerable defense. Each letter is a classic. And it is deeply regretted that lack of space precludes their publication in this volume.

Elder B. H. Roberts also declined to endorse the political manifesto. But, according to Apostle Heber J. Grant, after nine weeks of pleading and praying with him, and weeping over him, the prophets induced him to attach his signature to the document.

Moses Thatcher, ill almost unto death, was given but ninety minutes in which to consider the question of surrendering the God-given heritage of American citizenship. Brigham H. Roberts, strong and robust, was given nine weeks in which to consider the same question. More, Mr. Roberts was aided in his human groping by the divine light that emanated from such pure spirits as those that dwelt in the earthly tabernacles of Prophets-Seers-and-Revelators Francis M. Lyman and Heber J. Grant.

CHAPTER XLVIII

FREE-SILVER WAVE CARRIES UTAH DEMOCRACY INTO POWER—WOULD THEY STAND FOR LIBERTY, OR WOULD THEY SURRENDER?

The election of 1896 was National. Under the leadership of William J. Bryan the South and West declared for free silver.

That the industries of the United States are localized according to climatic, geographic and topographic conditions goes without saying. And it necessarily follows that those engaged in the respective industries are jealous of their interests and that, irrespective of the rest of the country, are zealous in the protection of them. In 1896 the mines of the West were producing large quantities of silver. Lead, copper and gold were by-products. It was to the mines that western people looked for employment and for markets for their produce.

Aside from the intricate questions of national or international finance, that not one in one thousand could grasp, western men saw in the gold standard of Republican policies a menace to their chief industry. With silver at fifty cents per ounce, and the prevailing high freight tariff on the baser metals, western men were compelled to look the specter ruin squarely in the face. Under those conditions there is little wonder that life-long Republicans affiliated with Democrats in the effort to stem the tide of industrial prostration that had already set so swiftly in their direction.

The Utah delegation to the national Republican convention in St. Louis, after a losing fight for the recognition of silver, walked out and returned to Utah. The alliance of the silver forces in Utah gave the Democratic party an overwhelming majority. The election returns for representative to Congress were: William H. King, Democratic, 47,356; Lafayette Holbrook, Republican, 27,813; Warren Foster, Populist, 2,279.

The Mormon prophets sensed the fact that, as in scores of other instances, divine interposition would be compelled to wait until local conditions were more favorable. Like the "mills of the gods" it was theirs to "grind slow" but to "grind exceedingly fine"—they could afford to wait.

The Democrats elected sixty members of the legislature as against three Republicans.

All political objection to Moses Thatcher on account of his being an apostle had been eliminated by the Mormon leaders. Because of his manly stand for the fulfillment of sacred pledges made to the Nation, Moses Thatcher had been banished from the councils of his quorum, from the confidence of the chief prophets and from the sacred interior of the temple he had generously aided in building. Thus, to all intents and purposes, it was Moses Thatcher, the pre-eminent citizen, rather than Moses Thatcher, the apostle, who, above all other men in Utah, now stood as the especial champion of political and religious Liberty.

Let those who are inclined to minimize the sacrifices made by Moses Thatcher during those trying years divest themselves of religious and political prejudices and impartially consider the facts to be submitted. And here let it be stated that on two occasions, only, has Moses Thatcher ever met the writer of this to know him. My defense of him began with his first stand for political freedom for his people, and during sixteen years, in private and public, that defense has never wavered.

Practically the whole life of Moses Thatcher has been spent in the Mormon Church. The sacrifices involved in foreign missionary work necessarily increased his attachment for his religion. During the years of his early manhood he became a polygamist. And no whisper has ever reached the public ear to the effect that his marital relations were not happy, and those who know anything about the practical workings of polygamy will cheerfully give the credit to Moses Thatcher and his wives rather than to the discord-breeding doctrine.

To the foregoing should be added the fact that Apostle Thatcher was next in line to Joseph F. Smith for the presidency of his church.

Even the most bigoted Mormon opponent of Mr. Thatcher will find nothing in his environment that could be even remotely construed as an inducement to him to jeopardize his standing in his church for the honor of being known as the champion of political liberty for his people. Compared with his position of apostle, and the advancement that, if he lived, would surely be his, the transitory honor of United States Senator would be a bauble.

Apostle Thatcher knew that if he took a position antagonistic to the first presidency he would be shorn of his ecclesiastical honors, and that thousands of his brethren would desert him in the hour of his extremity.

Moses Thatcher accepted the division on party lines in good faith. He believed that the asseverations of the Church leaders to the effect that the people of Utah were politically free had been made in all sincerity. He had intended to keep out of politics. But the insistence of his political friends who desired to offset the stumping of Apostle John Henry Smith prevailed with him to make the Ogden speech.

Once in the field, with the prophets arrayed against him, Moses Thatcher's only alternative was to go forward. To retreat would have been "cowardice, self-stultification and dishonor."

His ability, his loyalty to his convictions, and the mighty sacrifices he had made for his party were such that Mr. Thatcher became the logical candidate for United States Senator to succeed Arthur Brown, whose term would expire on the fourth of the following March. As if by one impulse, all Mormon Democrats foresaw that the unanimous support of his party would place around Moses Thatcher a shield that would protect him from further onslaughts by such bigoted prophets as George Q. Cannon, Joseph F. Smith, Francis M. Lyman, Heber J. Grant et al. Democrats also realized that the election of Mr. Thatcher would go far toward settling the vexed question of apostolic control of politics. It would be such a mighty protest against the treatment he had received from the Mormon leaders that other independent Mormons would feel that they had the moral support of the people behind them. It would also prove to the Gentile Republicans that the Democrats were really fighting for a vital principle rather than for the spoils of office, and that they could be depended on to continue the struggle until victory was a reality.

Such were a few of the reasons why Moses Thatcher was the logical candidate of his party and of all friends of civil liberty.

It was the lusty cry of "sixteen to one," rather than any special demand for Democratic policies, that had raised the party to power in Utah. By an accident in politics they were in a position to deal a death blow to the ecclesiastical despotism that had decreed that the Democratic party in Utah should be a mere political farce, the existence of which would serve notice on the people of the United States that civil liberty in Utah is a reality rather than a monumental bluff.

Would the Democrats be equal to the emergency?

CHAPTER XLIX

DEMOCRACY'S SHAMEFUL SURRENDER TO THE PLEDGE-BREAKING PROPHETS

Politics and selfishness—one and inseparable. If there be politics in heaven, there is selfishness in heaven. There is no policy so precious nor cause so noble that politicians will not ignore and ruthlessly trample under their feet in the mad rush for self-advancement. And some Utah Democrats are no exception to the above-enunciated rule.

No sooner had the votes been counted than men began conspiring to defeat that for which they had been ostensibly contending, or they mistook the ephemeral free-silver wave for a verdict against the prophets in politics. The personal gratification of senatorial ambitions meant the defeat of Moses Thatcher. The defeat of Thatcher, if he consented to be a candidate, meant a surrender to the prophets. But in defiance of that well-known fact, there were men who had shrieked themselves hoarse in their clamor for political liberty who were now willing to use the prophets for stepladders upon which they hoped to climb into the United States Senate. And some of those same men have castigated Gentile Republicans because they declined to join the Democrats in the struggle for political liberty!

In contradistinction to the small coterie of selfish politicians, above referred to, there were many able men who were ready to make the sacrifice of personal ambitions in order that the ecclesiastical power that was seeking the union of church and state might be signally rebuked and overthrown. Among the latter was Judge O. W. Powers, the Democratic State chairman. Because of the splendid service he had rendered his party, and by virtue of his great ability, next to Moses Thatcher, he was the logical choice of his party for United States Senator. But Judge Powers declined to be a candidate so long as Moses Thatcher was in the field.

The health of Moses Thatcher had been seriously impaired by causes heretofore stated. And it was only through the insistence of personal friends that he was induced to meet the almost unanimous demand of his party to become even a potential candidate for the Senate.

Rumors to the effect that Joseph L. Rawlins was a candidate for the Senate reached the friends of Moses Thatcher. A warm friendship had existed between Thatcher and Rawlins, and the friends of the former knew that if the latter were seriously in the field as a candidate Moses Thatcher would decline to be an opponent. In order to settle the question, Joseph Monson, a friend and supporter of Thatcher, wrote to Mr. Rawlins asking for information. The following is Mr. Rawlins' reply, a facsimile of which was published in the Salt Lake "Tribune," of January 9, 1897:

"Salt Lake City, Nov. 10th.

"Mr. Joseph Monson, Richmond, Utah.

"Dear Sir:—Permit me to thank you for your kind letter of the 7th instant. Knowing you to be a friend I shall write you as such, candidly and freely, just as I feel.

"Mr. Thatcher has stood by me, as well as the party, under circumstances which would have appalled a less courageous man. I cannot and will not be placed in antagonism to him in any respect. However much I might otherwise prize the Senatorship, it cannot come to me at the price of ingratitude.

"In the present situation, I have already suggested to my friends (who are also devoted friends of Mr. Thatcher) my unqualified withdrawal in his interest. To this proposal they see no objections. They urge that the opponents of Mr. Thatcher will make the claims, first, that Utah should not be represented in Congress exclusively by members of a single church; second, the precariousness of Mr. Thatcher's health and the chance that the place might be left to be filled by appointment of a Republican Governor. That these considerations, together with other influences, would almost certainly lead to his defeat. That if I am out of the way he would be humiliated by defeat and our mutual enemies without meritorious claims would be enabled to triumph.

"Now, Joe, I would rather see Mr. Thatcher in the Senate than to be there myself. I shall not be an obstacle in his pathway to success or honor. I have health, happy home and a reasonable competency to live upon. I am not hungry for any office. Under some circumstances, I would accept and appreciate as an honor election to the United States Senate. My victory cannot be Mr. Thatcher's defeat. In the dark and unpromising days of the party, we have stood together. We shall not part now. I did what I could for Utah when entrusted with office. At the almost unanimous call of my party when conditions were unfavorable, we have gone down to defeat. I deemed it proper to release my friends from further efforts in my behalf. That stands, if you can probably see success ahead for Mr. Thatcher; in that event my duty and purpose are equally clear.

"I leave this matter in the hands of Mr. Thatcher's friends and shall cheerfully abide their judgment as to what is best to do.

"Yours truly,

(Signed) "J. L. RAWLINS."

Notwithstanding Joseph Rawlins' attitude as expressed in his letter to Joseph Monson, he yielded to the persuasion of friends and became a candidate for the Senate. It was too late, however, to eliminate Moses Thatcher as a candidate. Relying on the unequivocal statement of Mr. Rawlins, the friends of Mr. Thatcher had proceeded to organize their forces for the campaign. David C. Dunbar had been selected as leader of the Thatcher forces. The friends of Thatcher throughout the State were indignant at what they regarded as the duplicity of Rawlins and urged the ex-apostle to stand by his guns. They also labored with the members-elect of the Legislature to stand by the spirit of the reconvened convention as the only hope for political freedom in Utah.

The prophets were seriously alarmed over the political outlook. To permit the late apostle to be elected would be to neutralize the force of their late political manifesto. Moses Thatcher must be defeated. Their only hope lay in dividing and keeping apart the members of the Legislature.

In his letter to Joseph Monson, Mr. Rawlins had sounded the key-note of the prophets. Senator Frank J. Cannon was a Mormon, and it would not do to have another Mormon Senator from

Utah. That alleged "understanding" was worked overtime on the Gentile Democrats by the agents of the prophets. The latter did not, however, want "Joe" Rawlins, the "apostate," but it was anybody and any measure to beat Thatcher.

Heber J. Grant, the time-serving apostle and pseudo Democrat, took charge of the prophets' interest in the campaign against Thatcher.

Working through Gentile Democrats, the Church forces induced Judge Henry P. Henderson to become a candidate for the Senate. Judge Henderson was known to be a man of fine ability and sterling integrity, and, if elected, would be an honor to Utah. There has never been a thought that Judge Henderson was aware that he had been "set apart" for the purpose of defeating Moses Thatcher. Through Apostle Grant, Lewis W. Shurtliff, President of the Weber Stake of Zion, and a member-elect of the Utah Senate, became Judge Henderson's chief advocate in the Legislature.

In the desperate efforts of the prophets to defeat Moses Thatcher they invoked the aid of eager Church minions who worked the State from Idaho to Arizona. They labored with the electors publicly and with the members-elect of the Legislature privately.

In addition to the above-named forces, the "Deseret News," the "Lord's" official organ, early began a fight on Moses Thatcher that ceased not until the deciding vote was cast. The "News" assumed that in his refusal to submit to the terms of the political manifesto, Thatcher was an "apostate" and that those who favored his election were enemies of the dominant church and were engaged in an assault upon it. In brief, the prophets and their political heelers demanded that the State's representatives aid the church in disciplining a recalcitrant member—that the representatives of the people endorse, and adopt, as the unwritten law of the State, the ecclesiastical rule ennunciated by the prophets to the effect that when a candidate was in disfavor with his divinely authorized leaders he must be defeated at the polls, and that failure to do so would subject the State's agents to the hot displeasure of the "Lord's anointed" A sample of the inspired logic of the "Deseret News," Saturday, January 3, 1897, is herewith submitted:

"A morning contemporary quotes a prominent member-elect to the Legislature as saying that he intends to vote for a candidate for the United States Senate 'because the dominant church is against him, which is the strongest argument why I should be for him. Now is the time to settle that question forever. Let us do it and have peace.'"

The "News'" comment is as follows:

"When the strongest reason an officer of the State finds for his official action is his hostility to his presumed attitude to a church, is he not making his official position a weapon of assault upon that church?"

The above paragraph is wilfully misleading in that it does not differentiate between a rule of the church and the church itself. As a complete answer to the "News" an extract from a letter of Judge O. W. Powers on that subject in the "Tribune" of January 5, 1897, will be quoted:

Prior to the announced candidacy of Moses Thatcher, Judge Powers, as already stated, was a receptive candidate. In his letter to the "Tribune," the Judge said he did not view with "complacency" the advent of Moses Thatcher as a competitor. "But," as Judge Powers said in the letter to the "Tribune," "as time has elapsed, Moses Thatcher, the man, had become a comparatively insignificant factor, and the principle which he represents has become paramount.

"The question is whether a man, because of differences with an ecclesiastical organization, shall be defeated for a political office?

"Shall the wishes of a religious sect control the action of the citizen?

"If it can be done in the case of Moses Thatcher, it can be done in the case of any man, and only those who are favored by ecclesiastical authority may, with hope of success, aspire to political office."

A. T. Shroeder, another prominent Gentile, did all he could to induce the candidates opposed to Thatcher to postpone their ambitions in the immediate interests of civil rights. He closed a lengthy and very able argument in the "Tribune" of January 10th with the following clear-cut appeal to Rawlins and Henderson:

"I beseech you, therefore, for your own sakes, and for the sake of an increased human liberty in Utah, to withdraw your names from this contest and lend your support to Thatcher."

Cowardice, except where constitutional, is despicable, and where joined with political selfishness is inexpressibly detestable. And it seemed as if the majority of the Democratic members of the Legislature of 1897 were the heirs apparent of both cowardice and selfishness. Beneath the servility they manifested under the Church lash, there was the hope that the prophets would reward them and the Democratic party for the surrender of their manhood. In the effort to placate the prophets, and to atone for the crime of rebellion involved in the reconvened convention, the Democratic trail leading to the back door of the office of the prophets, seers and revelators became fully as deep and well-worn as the Republican path that led to the front door.

Judge Charles C. Goodwin, the able and venerable editor of the Salt Lake "Tribune," was a "silver" Republican, and had been charged by the Democrats with being under the influence of the Church leaders. But when the prophets entered the political arena, with the purpose of defeating Moses Thatcher, Judge Goodwin became a stalwart champion of the latter's political rights. The "Tribune" editor took the ground that, while the prophets had the right to discipline Apostle Thatcher, they must not interfere with the political rights of Moses Thatcher the citizen.

The attitude of B. H. Roberts, the erstwhile reconvened convention champion of political liberty, was inexplicable. In a lengthy article in the "Deseret News" he contended that Thatcher and his supporters were making war on the Church. In fact, Elder Roberts' course was generally condemned by the Democrats. The following caustic criticism is from the Ephraim (Sanpete County) "Enterprise," of which M. F. Murray was then editor:

"B. H. Roberts does not seem to be satisfied with having gone back on the principles he so ably advocated in the reconvened convention, but now comes out and opposes the views he then expressed. How the mighty have fallen! He who only two short years ago was Democracy's idol, is now looked upon as a traitor by every true Democrat in the State."

With the foregoing brief description of the respective forces, and their alignment, the reader will be able to partially grasp the nature of the almost death-struggle between the Mormon oligarchy and the friends of civil liberty in Utah.

Following is the roster of the Senate:

Aquila Nebeker and Joseph Monson of Cache County; Wm. G. Nebeker of Box Elder; Lewis W. Shurtliff of Weber; Daniel Hamer of Weber; John T. Caine, Mrs. Martha Hughes Cannon, Benjamin A. Harbour, D. O. Rideout, Jr., and George Whittaker of Salt Lake County; Robert C. Chambers of Summit; A. O. Smoot of Utah; Joseph V. Robison of Millard; Isaac K. Wright of Sevier; M. E. Johnson of Grand; Ed. H. Snow of Washington; John F. Allred of Sanpete.

Roster of the House:

E. W. Wilson, Scipio A. Kenner, George Romney, Jr., R. B. Shepard, Robert W. Sloan, Mrs. E. LaBarthe, Daniel Mangan, Heber Bennion, Joseph E. Taylor and Joseph Thompson of Salt Lake; Joseph Kimball, Ingwald C. Thoresen and Moroni C. Price of Cache; S. N. Cook of Box Elder; Oliver G. Kimball of Carbon; Lars Peter Oveson of Emery; Andrew J. Hansen of Garfield; Joseph H. Robinson of Kane; David S. Cook of Rich; Claude V. Wheeler of Juab; Abel J. Evans, Hyrum Lemmon, Louis P. Lund, Willard O. Creer, William M. Roylance of Utah; William Gibson of Uintah; J. R. Murdock of Wasatch; Bernard Greenwood of Sevier; C. A. Callis of Summit; N. B. Dresser of Tooele; William H. O'Brien, John N. Perkins, Angus McKay and Mrs. Anderson of Weber; John Hopkins of Morgan; William A. Ray of Millard; James G. Duffin of Washington; Andrew P. Sorenson of Grand; James E. Forshee of Piute; W. L. H. Dotson of Beaver; Heiett E. Maxfield of Wayne; N. P. Sorenso and Aaron Hardy of Sanpete.

The very large majority of the members of the legislature ha endorsed the issues plainly enunciated in the reconvened convention. And many of them were pledged to Moses Thatcher pro vided he became a candidate. The names of the men and women who were loyal to their convictions and to their party's creed may be read in the reports of those who stood by Thatcher to the last ditch.

On Monday, January 11th, the Senate met and organized. Aquila Nebeker was elected President. On the same day the House elected John N. Perkins, Speaker.

In the meantime the "Deseret News" continued its work of denouncing the ex-apostle and appealing to the members of the Legislature to defeat him on the plea that he was an apostate and therefore an enemy of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In reply to one of those especially rabid editorials Judge Powers received the following telegram:

"Ogden, Utah, November 17, 1897.

"To Hon. O. W. Powers:—A leading article in to-night's 'Deseret News' demands a return to old conditions. Young Utah's rights and the rights of succeeding generations are in the balance. The crises must be met courageously and fearlessly. It is no longer a question of partisan politics but of civil liberty.

(Signed) "CHARLES A. SMURTHWAITE,
"GEORGE E. HYDE."

At the time of the sending of the above telegram Mr. Smurthwaite was a member of the Mormon Church in good standing—an official of the ward in which he lived. The testimony of President Joseph F. Smith before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections in the matter of Apostle-Senator Reed Smoot, so disgusted Mr. Smurthwaite, as it did hundreds of others, that he openly disavowed his faith in Joseph F. Smith as a "prophet, seer and revelator." Mr. Smurthwaite was cited to trial on the charge of "apostasy," and, failing to retract, was excommunicated.

On Tuesday, January 19, Robert W. Sloan nominated Moses Thatcher for United States Senator. R. B. Shepard nominated Joseph L. Rawlins. Joseph Kimball nominated Henry P. Henderson. The first ballot resulted as follows:

SENATE

For Thatcher: Monson, Nebeker of Cache, Nebeker of Box Elder, Robison, Rideout, Whittaker.—6.

For Rawlins: Caine, Chambers, Evans, Johnson, Smoot, Wright.—6.

For Henderson: Allred, Hamer, Shurtliff.—3.

HOUSE

For Thatcher: Cook of Rich, Creer, Forshee, Gibson, Mrs. LaBarthe, Murdock, Price, Ray, Roylance, Sloan, Sorenson of Sanpete, Thoresen, Wheeler.—13.

For Henderson: Mrs. Anderson, Bennion, Duffin, Hardy, Hopkins, Kenner, Kimball of Cache, Maxfield, McKay, O'Brien, Oveson, Perkins, Taylor.—13.

For Rawlins: Cook of Box Elder, Dotson, Greenwood, Lemmon, Lund, Martin, Parry, Romney, Shepard, Sorenson of Grand, Stewart, Wilson.—12.

Totals: Thatcher, 19; Henderson, 18; Rawlins, 16. Other votes were scattering.

With the exception of Joseph Kimball, the Cache County delegation was a unit for Thatcher. Kimball, who was a son of the notorious Heber C. Kimball, was absolutely under the thumb of the prophets. The Cache County constituents of Joseph Kimball were indignant at his treachery, as the following telegram to Noble Warrum, editor of the Logan "Journal," will illustrate:

"Indignation runs high against Kimball. Constituents demand that he vote their sentiments or resign.

(Signed) "WILLIAM EDWARDS,

"Chairman Cache County Democratic Committee."

On Wednesday, January 21st, Dotson and Martin went to Thatcher, which brought his vote vote up to 21. Henderson 17; Rawlins, 16. Robinson of Kane and Hansen of Garfield both of them good Mormon Republicans, announced their readiness to vote for Henderson whenever their votes would elect him

Allred, a devout Saint from Sanpete, persisted in voting for Henderson against the wishes of his constituents, who sent numerous petitions asking that he vote for Thatcher. M. F. Murray closed an editorial in the "Enterprise" with the following sharp reminder:

"Even the gentleman who nominated Mr. Allred for Senator has petitioned him to vote for Moses Thatcher.

"It will be in order for Mr. Allred to explain what he means by thus insulting his constituents."

On Thursday following the vote just given, there were rumors afloat in the House and Senate to the effect that if Henderson could not be elected the church-controlled votes would be thrown to Rawlins. Those rumors were not slow in getting into the papers and aroused the utmost excitement and anxiety among loyal Democrats throughout the State. A large delegation from Ogden waited on John N. Perkins, the Speaker of the House, and laid the law down to him. Thereafter Mr. Perkins voted for Thatcher. On the Saturday following, a magnificent demonstration in the Ogden Opera House was given in the interest of Thatcher. And from all over the State petitions were received by the members of the legislature asking, insisting and demanding that Thatcher be elected. And many patriotic Republicans added their names to those petitions. Country editors, realizing the peril that confronted Utah, condemned Rawlins in unmeasured terms; they demanded that he get out of the way and permit the Democratic party to vindicate the policies outlined in the reconvened convention.

The eighth ballot was polled on Saturday, January 23d. The results were as follows: Thatcher, 23; Henderson, 18; Rawlins, 15.

At this juncture Judge Henderson held a consultation with Mr. Thatcher and told him if it were possible he would transfer his votes to him. Or, if it would benefit him he would withdraw from the race. Unfortunately, Judge Henderson did not control his quondam supporters. They were bishops, bishops' counselors, members of stake presidencies, high councilmen and other subservient agents of the Church. Under all conditions it was better that Judge Henderson remain in the race. His withdrawal meant the immediate election of Rawlins.

The following Monday another trial of strength was shown, the only changes being the transfer of a couple of votes from Henderson to Rawlins as the net results of nine ballots.

The course of C. A. Callis of Summit County was fully as despicable as that of Kimball of Cache, Allred of Sanpete and others who were defying the will of their constituents. The voters of Summit exhibited their indignation by sending fifty telegrams in one day to the man who was misrepresenting them. A few of those messages are herewith submitted:

"Hon. C. A. Callis: Exalt the man who exalted the rights of the citizens. This is what you would do if you would vote for Moses Thatcher.

(Signed) "John Nimmo."

"If it was left to the voters of this county who should go to the United States Senate, the name of Moses Thatcher would stand at the top of the list with an overwhelming majority.

(Signed) "John Clark."

"Declare your political independence and voice the sentiments of your constituents by voting steadily for Moses Thatcher.

(Signed) "Wm. Mont. Ferry."

"To hell with Callis, if he doesn't vote for Thatcher, is a popular sentiment around the mines.

(Signed) "Thomas White."

Callis finally agreed that if the majority of his constituents favored Thatcher he would vote for him. And Judge Powers immediately wired a number of prominent Democrats in Summit County as follows:

"Callis says he will vote for Thatcher if his constituents feel that way. Wire me quick general sentiment.

(Signed) "O. W. Powers."

Following are a few of the replies:

"Hon. O. W. Powers: Public sentiment is unanimous in favor of Hon. Moses Thatcher for the United States Senate.

(Signed) "Henry Shields,
"City Attorney."

"The future of the Democratic party in Summit depends upon Callis voting for Thatcher. The sentiment unanimous for the apostle of human liberty.

(Signed) "W. H. COLBATH."

The following was from Faddis, Mayor of Coalville, the home of Callis:

"Most assuredly, everybody here in favor of Thatcher. Notify Callis."

"I think the public feeling is for Thatcher. As a Republican, I have no say in the matter.

(Signed) "HENRY WELCH."

In defiance of the wishes of his constituents, Callis continued to vote for Rawlins, thus proving that politically as well as spiritually, the Elder from Summit was owned by the prophets. February 1st saw the forty-ninth ballot. In one of the most eloquent speeches delivered during the entire session, Senator Mattie Hughes Cannon declared for Thatcher. The vote then stood for Thatcher, 27; Rawlins, 19; Henderson, 14.

On another ballot Thatcher's vote went to 29, and it would require but three more votes to elect him.

The Rawlins supporters knew that the Church agents, Grant, Shurtliff et al., had played their last card in their effort to elect Henderson. They were also certain that the Church members would be thrown to Rawlins at the last moment, or whenever the inspired push believed it to be the only alternative. The danger, however, that confronted them was that Thatcher might secure three more votes before they could convince the Church crowd that the crisis had been reached. Fifty ballots had been taken and valuable time wasted in the fight for supremacy. The members, as well as the voters, were becoming impatient and were liable to turn to Thatcher as the only solution of the deadlock.

Tuesday, February 2, was a day of intense anxiety and hard work for the Rawlins men. But they succeeded in holding the alignment of the respective forces in practically the same form as on the previous day. In the meantime plans were laid for the following morning.

At the close of Tuesday's session of the Legislature, two prominent Rawlins men were seen loitering near the door of the lobby. These men we will call P. Q. and R. S. T. The latter was a prominent Mormon attorney from one of the southern towns. In a moment Senator Lewis W. Shurtliff and a member of the House emerged from the legislative hall. The two men first indicated stepped in front of Shurtliff and his companion and leisurely walked north on the east side of Main Street. R. S. T. incidentally said to his companion: "Well, it looks as if Thatcher will be a sure winner to-morrow. It will be almost impossible to hold some of our men in line any longer."

"Yes, that's true," replied P. Q., "the voters are becoming indignant at the delay. It has come to a show-down; we've got the last man that can be secured for Rawlins. And if it comes to a choice between Thatcher and Henderson, I will vote for Thatcher."

The conversation between Shurtliff and his companion had ceased. They were unexpectedly getting some valuable "inside" information.

At the intersection of Main and First South streets, R. S. T. and his companion parted.

"Good evening, Brother Shurtliff," was the greeting of R. S. T. as he turned away. Shurtliff detained him and said:

"Do you think you can hold your men in line until morning?"

"I don't know; why do you ask?" was the reply.

Shurtliff then explained that if the Rawlins men could be held together until another ballot, aid might be given them.

R. S. T. knew what that meant. And there was exceeding great joy that night among a few trusted members of the Rawlins camp.

The morning of February 3, 1897, was an epoch in the history of Utah that freemen and slaves should never forget. Sixty-three men met to decide one of the most momentous questions that have ever arisen in Utah. In their hands reposed the solemn obligation of rescuing Utah from the grasp of an alien and law-defying priesthood, with all the blessings of peace and progress that the rescue involved, or the plunging of the people of a great commonwealth into the maelstrom of religious and civil strife. An ill-defined sense of the importance of the impending vote had taken possession of the citizens of Salt Lake City and of the surrounding country and representative men and women packed the legislative hall, almost to the point of suffocation.

Apostle Heber J. Grant, the inspired representative of the alleged vicegerent of God, was a deeply interested spectator of the respective forces that would soon be in action. Even as one of the prophets, Heber J. Grant knew not whether changes had taken place during the night that would annul the prophetic scheming of months, even years, and thus compel the pledge-breaking "holy men of Israel" to catch their breath and bide the time when they could secure a more deadly grip on the political situation.

A coterie of prophets had gathered in the president's office in the "Beehive" house, and with bated breath were waiting for the verdict. By scheming, lying, pledge-breaking and unparalleled treachery, they had slipped from under the control of the Government. Through purely human agencies, and by availing themselves of the tricks practised by ward politicians, they had built up a political "machine" with a "prophet" as the chief steersman. They had cajoled selfish and unprincipled Gentiles with the hope of political preferment as the reward for the surrender of that for which the fathers of this Republic made such mighty sacrifices. They had silenced the scruples of every high ecclesiast in the Legislature, thus securing their allegiance to the program of political control and protecting of the prophets in the continued practice of the "holy" doctrine of polygamy. Their agents within and without the Legislature had, by the recent disciplining of Moses Thatcher, served notice on Mormon legislators, that the election of the ex-apostle meant reprisals by aid of the dreaded "Mormon boycott." The wires were well laid. Would the Lord bless their efforts to maintain his political kingdom?

In his headquarters sat Moses Thatcher, surrounded by a few loyal and devoted friends. Weighed down by long illness, and further weakened by the arduous campaign he had waged, he also was waiting for the verdict. The stimulus evolved from the battle was dissipated in the ending. An oppressive silence rested on the small group of weary men. Thatcher's eyes were closed. Was he dreaming? Was his mind traversing the tortuous trail that led backward through the mists of forty years, when, as a lad of fifteen, he embraced the gospel as taught by the founder of Mormonism? Was he again tramping the deep-worn road across the plains and through the sinuous passes of the great mountain wall to the western Zion? Was he again experiencing the struggles and hardships of those early years when homes were being won from the desert? Once more did the heaving bosom of the Atlantic rise and fall beneath him as he journeyed "without purse or scrip" to preach the gospel in foreign lands? Was he living over again the eighteen years of his apostolic labors for the uplifting of his people—of the time when, because of the gentleness of his nature and the purity of his life, he was idolized by his people? Did his thoughts revert to the parting of the ways when he refused to follow his "file" leaders downward into the depths of deception, treachery and pusillanimity? Did the vision of friends, brothers, wives and children, pleading with him to make the surrender, again come to him? Was he once more experiencing the tortures of the forced separation from his brethren and the relinquishment of the ecclesiastical honors he had so rightfully earned? Again did the plaudits of cheering thousands ring in his ears, as, in a voice trembling with emotion, he had declared for civil liberty for himself and his people, and with almost matchless eloquence, urged them to be true to their God, to their country and to themselves? And what would the harvest be? What were the reflections of the ex-apostle? No one knows. Moses Thatcher has not yet spoken.

And what of Joseph L. Rawlins? While waiting for the verdict, did he think of the letter he had written to Joseph Monson, the friend of Moses Thatcher? Did the thought once occur to him that the contents of that letter had betrayed his friend into the belief that he would not be a rival to him in the campaign that was then upon them? Did it not occur to him that he had betrayed a friend into a false position and then worse than deserted him? Was there not surging through his brain the mighty hope that he would be elected by the aid of that same power he had affected to believe was the nemesis of political freedom in the

United States—a power he had denounced and defied in a hundred impassioned speeches? Did he not realize that freedom, peace and social advancement were tremblingly poised in the balance, and that one word from him would send a sufficient number of his supporters to the cause of truth, liberty and honor to defeat the designs of a half dozen or so of scheming priests whom he knew were then depending on his selfish ambition to aid them in forging chains on the citizenship of Utah?

Whether or not the thoughts of Joseph L. Rawlins turned to those questions, no one knows, or cares. One fact is, however, well known—thousands of honest Mormons, men and women, were thinking along those lines, and their memories are merely slumbering.

Following is the result of the fifty-third ballot:

SENATE

For Moses Thatcher: Mrs. Cannon, Chambers, Harbour, Monson, Nebeker of Cache, Nebeker of Box Elder, Rideout, Robison, Whittaker—9.

For Rawlins: Allred, Caine, Evans, Johnson, Shurtliff, Smoot, Snow, Wright—8.

HOUSE

For Thatcher: Mrs. Anderson, Creer, Dotson, Dresser, Forshee, Gibson, Kimball of Carbon, Mrs. LaBarthe, Mangan, Martin, O'Brien, Perkins, Price, Ray, Roylance, Sloan, Sorenson of Sanpete, Thompson, Thoresen, Wheeler—20.

For Rawlins: Bennion, Callis, Cook of Rich, Cook of Box Elder, Duffin, Greenwood, Hansen, Hardy, Hopkins, Kenner, Kimball of Cache, Lemmon, Lund, Maxfield, McKay, Oveson, Parry, Robinson, Romney, Shepard, Stewart, Sorenson of Grand, Taylor, Wilson—24.

Total for Rawlins, 32.

Total for Thatcher, 29.

Bishop J. H. Hansen, Republican, of Garfield County, cast the deciding vote.

Those who had stood by Thatcher through the protracted struggle were with him to the last. And their names should ever be held in grateful remembrance by those who live to-day, and by those who will live in the future. It is a roll of honor of which the descendants of those brave men and women may well be proud.

A melancholy attempt at applause was made by a few of the Rawlins supporters. It was, however, an abortion. They appeared to sense the fact that the Utah Democracy had made a shameful surrender of the functions of the state to an alien power. The oppressive silence was broken by D. O. Rideout, Jr., rising to his full height of more than six feet, and in clear, ringing tones, he voiced the thoughts of hundreds in the hall, and thousands outside of it, when he said:

"Mr. Speaker—I solemnly protest against this blot on the white garments of my native Utah."

The vaunted independence of the Utah Democracy, like the fitful swamp light that trembles for a moment in the darkness, had vanished at the command of the prophets.

Allred, Callis, Kimball and others had been elected to represent the will of a majority of their constituents. But in defiance of numerous petitions, even commands, from those who had elected them, they proved their abject subserviency to an aggregation of alleged prophets who claim to politically rule in the name and in the stead of Jehovah!

Joseph L. Rawlins made a fine record for ability and industry in the Senate. And there is no desire to follow him into private life where he is justly respected. But in order to illustrate the resentment that was felt toward him by the great majority of his party, the following editorial from a February number of the Springville "Independent" is herewith reproduced under the original heading:

"OUR NEW SENATOR

"The news of Thatcher's defeat was received in Springville with sorrow. The most certain success seemed to be his. It was thought that the senators and representatives who held out against him would surely come down to a realization of the wishes of the people and give them what they wanted, but in this they were sadly disappointed; and now the public can only look with regret in having reposed confidence in men who were as straw—

whose will was and is subject to some other power than the public wishes. Of the gentleman honored, nothing can be said against his ability, his intelligence, or his silver record. But, as before stated, Mr. Rawlins has been more than honored by the people of Utah, and for the honor paid him he has turned and deserted his post. . . .

"Mr. Thatcher goes to defeat in honor, while Mr. Rawlins goes to success with a very narrow majority and only the sanction of a few plotting politicians who have some axes to grind. Which of the two positions is the greater?"

CHAPTER L

DEMOCRACY'S LAST VICTORY

Before proceeding to discuss matters of greater moment, it is well to briefly refer to the passing of the Democratic party, except as a potential factor, in Utah.

By a largely reduced majority, the Democrats carried the State in 1898.

As a reward for his surrender and his aid in the defeat of Moses Thatcher, Brigham H. Roberts obtained the "consent" of the prophets to run for representative to Congress, and was elected. His election was the crowning blunder of the Democracy. The prophets were anxious to learn whether or not the great law-making body of the nation would accept a polygamist representative from the State of Utah. And very naturally, a Democrat was chosen for the experiment.

After an able and protracted fight for his seat, Mr. Roberts was rejected on the ground that he was a polygamist.

Had Mr. Roberts been seated there is no doubt that a polygamous apostle, instead of the reputedly monogamous Apostle Smoot, would now be representing the Mormon "Kingdom of God" in the United States Senate.

As anticipated by the prophets, the odium of trying to fasten polygamy on the national law-making body fell upon the Utah Democracy. Because of the effort, the people of the United States were led to believe that the Democratic party of Utah was the Mormon Church party. They did not understand that the "prophets, seers and revelators" were using the Utah Democracy merely as a catspaw—that Elder Roberts' mission to Washington was for the express purpose of feeling the nation's pulse.

There were several candidates for senatorial honors before the Legislature that assembled early in 1899. Among them were A. W. McCune (Gentile) and Judge William H. King (Mormon). Because of Mr. McCune's many and large benefactions to Mormon Church institutions, which, by the way, were given in behalf of his wife, who is a devout Latter-day Saint, it was rumored that he was the "Church" candidate. The resentment felt toward the prophets because of their defeat of Moses Thatcher had not yet cooled in the hearts of several strong members of the Senate. And they were determined to defeat, if possible, any candidate who was suspected of wearing the "Church collar." In their efforts to even up matters with the prophets, the Senate members had the cheerful aid of several new members of the House. Another factor that was against Mr. McCune was that Apostle Heber J. Grant interested himself in the candidacy of the alleged Church favorite, and since Thatcher's defeat by the prophets, Grant has been an object of intense dislike to those who remember his perfidy.

McCune came within one vote of being elected, and would have been successful had there not, at the last moment, been sprung on him one of the most dastardly tricks that have ever disgraced Utah politics. As the incident has nothing to do with the subject-matter of this discussion, it will be passed. But, in justice to the Democratic contingent that was fighting Mr. McCune, it should be stated that they had nothing to do with the infamous scheme that overthrew him. In fact, the bomb was loaded by Republicans and exploded in the joint session by a Republican.

The prophets remembered the reconvened convention record of Judge King, to which, no doubt, he could rightfully charge his defeat.

A dead-lock followed the elimination of King and McCune, and in order to break it thirty-three members, sufficient to elect, asked Moses Thatcher to permit his name to go before the Legislature as a candidate. Had the prophets known of the flank movement, doubtless they would have thwarted the effort to accord to the deposed apostle the honor of declining, and the pleasure of publicly stating his reasons.

The names of the legislators who signed the request are herewith given:

SENATORS

Aquila Nebeker, Harden Bennion, R. C. Chambers, William G.

Nebeker; A. O. Smoot, D. O. Rideout, Jr., Joseph V. Robison, D. H. Peery, Jr.

REPRESENTATIVES

R. B. Shepard, C. V. Wheeler, S. W. Stewart, M. W. Mansfield, William M. Roylance, J. E. Betts, J. G. Bywater, J. W. Clyde, D. S. Cook, A. F. Farr, Jr., J. Fisher, A. W. Forman, John H. Fullmer, B. H. Greenwood, J. E. Hansen, Mrs. Alice Merrill Horne, C. M. Jackson, J. Lapish, M. Larsen, Ben. T. Lloyd, W. O'Niel, J. Parry, L. H. Redd.

Mr. Thatcher's declination of the honor was a credit alike to his head and heart, and proved beyond question that he was still loyal to his party and to his church. In fact, he poured "hot coals" all over the heads of the prophets, and, incidentally, proved that they maliciously lied when they branded him an "apostate."

There were any number of able men from whom the legislators could have selected a United States Senator. There were men like Judge Powers, whose loyalty had been proved a hundred times. and who were entitled to recognition. But with that singular stupidity for which so many of the leaders of the Utah Democracy have become so justly celebrated, the Legislature adjourned without electing a Senator.

In every election after the victory of 1898, the Utah Democracy was uniformly and deservedly whipped. The prophets made a football of the aggregation of patriots. And almost as regularly the chiefs of the Democratic party uttered post-election wails because the prophets had again politically cuffed them. In 1904 the country delegates, aided by a few strong men from Salt Lake City, forced an anti-Church interference plank into the State Democratic platform. And although the party was soundly spanked at the polls, they made the best showing in that election since 1898.

In the face of repeated defeats, and notwithstanding the treachery of many of their leaders in surrendering the ground gained in the reconvened convention—a surrender prompted by the hope that, some day, the prophets might reward them for their servility, the loyalty of Mormon Democrats to their party, and to the declaration of independence enunciated in the reconvened convention, is one of the marvels of the times.

THOMAS KEARNS

CHAPTER LI

HUMAN CONTRASTS—THOMAS KEARNS VERSUS REED SMOOT

Because of the entrance of the third party into the political, economic and social life of Utah, a new alignment of forces must soon be made.

Two men, prominent in the political and industrial affairs of the State, are charged with being largely or solely responsible for the new alignment. They are ex-United States Senator Thomas Kearns, and Apostle Reed Smoot, present United States Senator from Utah.

The respective responsibility of those gentlemen for the initiation of the present fight-to-a-finish struggle that is now on in Utah, must be determined by the evidence to be submitted. And inasmuch as the gentlemen named have been severely criticised by the respective parties to the controversy, a brief and impartial sketch of the men, and the means by which they attained the alleged positions they now occupy, is not only needful, but will be interesting.

Nature, or evolution, as the reader may elect, delights in the production of contrasts. Nor is the law confined to species; it is true of every type, of every family, whether within the animal, vegetable or mineral kingdoms.

In Senator Thomas Kearns and Senator Reed Smoot, we find the law of antithesis, physical and mental, well illustrated. Those gentlemen, in their respective spheres of action, represent widely antagonistic forces that are now struggling for supremacy in Utah. Ex-Senator Kearns represents the strong, virile force that is working for the physical development of the great, generous West, and for its intellectual and social advancement along lines that invite the co-operation of every man and woman, irrespective of race or creed.

Senator Smoot represents such physical, intellectual and social progress as is possible within the rigid, non-elastic boundaries of a religious creed that, since its inception, has been exclusive in its doctrines, dogmas, ambitions, pretensions and practices.

Senator Kearns represents the strong, courageous and aggressive class known as the self-made men of the West.

Senator Smoot represents the inherited advantages of a wealthy father, careful training, and, subsequently, of the almost limitless opportunities that lie in the path of one who becomes the especial protégé of a powerful church.

Senator Kearns is a human machine that moves forward by inherent force.

Senator Smoot is a human mechanism that is moved by the wind, or other extraneous forces, and yet believes that the power to move is solely within itself.

Because of the fact that Thomas Kearns' entrance on public life antedates that of Reed Smoot by several years, the former is given precedence in the matter of a brief biographical sketch.

There are fewer fools in Ireland, and less immorality in proportion to population, than in any other nation on earth. Many of the great and brilliant men of America were, and are, Irish, or of Irish descent. The elasticity of the Irish temperament, joined with courage and persistence of purpose, enable the sons of Erin to readily adapt themselves to the requirements of new environments, and to succeed where those of less courage and persistence fall by the wayside.

Thomas Kearns was born of Irish parents in Oxford County, Ontario, Canada, on April 11, 1862. When Thomas was but a lad, the family moved to Holt County, Nebraska, where the elder Kearns became a prosperous farmer.

Along in the later '70's gold was discovered in the Black Hills, and in 1879 that country was "booming." The spirit of adventure seized on Thomas Kearns, a lad of seventeen years, and leaving the district school and parental roof, he determined to carve out a fortune for himself.

It was about four hundred miles from the railroad to the camp in the Black Hills, and freighting by team between the two points was profitable. Young Kearns secured a number of teams, and, like Senator W. A. Clark, of Montana, made his first money as a freighter. With his first earnings, young Kearns purchased a home for his mother in the little city of O'Neill, Holt County, Nebraska, and placed a snug sum in the bank to her credit. Senator Kearns has been frequently heard to say that it was one of the proudest acts of his life.

During the early '80's, Park City, some twenty-five miles southeasterly from Salt Lake City, had attained world-wide fame as a producer of high-grade silver-lead ores. It was toward this rapidly developing mining region that young Kearns turned his attention and where he arrived in 1883. He was then not yet twenty-one years of age.

By observation, Thomas Kearns had learned something of mining and "formations" in the Black Hills, and, in an intuitive way, his mind grasped the possibilities of the Park country. And with that realization there was born the determination to secure some of the vast wealth that lay buried only a few hundred feet beneath the surface of those rock-ribbed hills.

Young Kearns had developed into a man of average height, large body, muscular, compact and, withal, robust health and clear brain.

His first real work in mining was with the Ontario Company, which has yielded nearly forty millions of dollars in imperishable wealth. He graduated from all the various jobs from "tool-packer" to setting machinery and installing the great "Cornish" pumps.

The youthful aspirant for wealth soon learned that to be successful in mining, as in any other business, he must master every detail. Another feature that well illustrates the practical bent of Thomas Kearns' mind is found in the fact that he early discovered the value of geology in its application to mining. A fair-sized library of practical geology, purchased on the installment plan, was soon in his possession. While other young men, with equal opportunities, were spending their leisure hours in the saloons, or in the bunk houses, reading novels, Thomas Kearns, by the light of a candle, was solving geological problems and applying the science to the underground rock structure of the Ontario, and to the occurrence of ore-bodies and their relation to each other, as also to the geological conditions in the immediate vicinity. In that way he became familiar with the trend and dip of the ore-bodies, and, by surface exploration, with the remarkably regular vein-system of the locality. Thus equipped, Thomas Kearns was able to form intelligent opinions as to the location of underground bodies of ore and the probable depth at which they would be found.

In brief, young Kearns emerged from the depths of the Ontario, practically and scientifically equipped for a career in mining that has fully justified the early preparation.

There is a vague impression prevalent in non-mining circles, that the fortunes wrung from the mountains of the West are, primarily, the result of chance. Occasionally that is the case, oftener the reverse is true.

The Ontario mine is situated about three and a half or four miles east of the crest of the Wasatch range. About midway between the two points, Thomas Kearns secured a lease on the Mayflower, a claim fifteen hundred feet long and two hundred feet wide. After putting in his regular shift for the Ontario Company, Kearns would put in another shift on his leased ground. In order to husband his money he worked alone, digging his shaft and hoisting the dirt. He carried timbers from the mountain side and, after shaping them, timbered his shaft. In time he secured options on the Silver King and other contiguous ground. The next move was to secure financial aid. His Ontario reputation for hustling and for trustworthiness aided in the effort to obtain funds. David Keith, a friend of Kearns, and who was receiving a good salary, divided his earnings and joined the latter in the enterprise. Subsequently, Messrs. Judge, Emery, Rice and others were interested and the Silver King Company was organized with Thomas Kearns as manager, a position which he has held to the present time and which he has filled with honor to himself and enormous profit to the company. During that period of about twenty years there were several hard-fought legal battles won over "apex" questions. In those suits the knowledge of geology gained by Mr. Kearns was invaluable to his company. He was pitted against some of the best geologists in the country and was uniformly victorious.

To date the Silver King has produced twenty millions of dollars. Recently more ground has been acquired by purchase and by a consolidation of interests until the holdings of the new company, known as the Silver King Coalition Mines Company, owns some 2,300 acres of choice mining ground, or about 350 lode claims of maximum size—1,500 feet by 600 feet, an empire of wealth that is unsurpassed, if equalled, by any holdings in this inter-mountain country. Indeed, it is conservatively estimated that fully as much ore is now in sight as that which has been extracted, and with reasonable possibilities of large additions. The mine is fully equipped with modern machinery including a large concentrating plant, an aerial tram that conveys the ore and concentrates to the railroad, a distance of two miles.

Such are the results from a small beginning. And such are the possibilities that await intelligence, honesty and industry in the region that was once regarded as worthless except for trappers and the breeding of Indians. And here let it be stated, that however much the enemies of "Tom" Kearns may abuse him, or attempt to belittle his magnificent achievements, there are none who can charge that tears have stained the wealth that he and his associates have dug from the indurated depths of the Wasatch range.

In 1895 Mr. Kearns was elected a member of the convention that formulated the constitution of Utah. In 1900 he was elected United States Senator from Utah, and served his State with the same intelligence, energy and fidelity that characterized his service with the Ontario Mining Company.

Nor is Thomas Kearns a miser. He and David Keith, his long-time friend and partner, are doing as much, if not more, in developing the unsurpassed resources of Utah and the inter-mountain west, than any other two men in the State. Jointly those men own the Salt Lake "Tribune" and "Evening Telegram," two leading papers of the State. They are also associated with Senator W. A. Clark, of Montana; R. C. Kerens, of St. Louis, and other strong men in the San Pedro, Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad, of which Thomas Kearns is the resident director.

This sketch would be incomplete without brief mention of the lady who shares the joys and sorrows of her husband. Thomas Kearns and Miss Jennie Judge were married at Park City in 1890. They have three children, Edmund J., Thomas F. and

Helen Marie, aged fourteen, eleven and nine years respectively. Mrs. Kearns is a home-loving, ideal wife and mother. Nor is her love for husband and children exclusive. Two hundred orphans look to her for food, shelter, love and sympathy. Well down on Main Street, Salt Lake City, is an institution known as Saint Ann's Orphanage, erected by Mrs. Kearns at a cost of $60,000, and of which she is the chief daily guardian spirit.

Wherever the hand of Thomas Kearns is extended in friendship, his heart goes with it, and he never "lets up" on the man who betrays his confidence.

Such is the man whom the Mormon prophets never tire of hating, and whom the Mormon and pro-Mormon press never weary of abusing. Some of his enemies who affect a superficial polish call him "ignorant" and "uncouth." Men who never earned an honest dollar in their lives hate and revile him. Like the vast majority of American youths, Thomas Kearns had to hustle during the years when he should have been in training for dress parade. He had the advantage of a good common school education, and by burning the "midnight" oil, he added a fund of information that many so-called educated men might be proud to possess. It is the difference between the self-educated man and a college-bred fool.

Thomas Kearns affects no "style" in his dress or manners. Conscious, but not self-conscious, of his native ability, Thomas Kearns is at home among his employees, and at ease in the so-called best society of the land. The reasons for the hatred that now pursues him, and the justification for the foregoing extended sketch and defense of him, will be developed in future chapters.

CHAPTER LII

HUMAN CONTRASTS—REED SMOOT VERSUS THOMAS KEARNS

Abraham O. Smoot, the father of the subject of this sketch, was a Kentuckian. Early in life he became a member of the Mormon Church, and arrived in Utah soon after the Pioneers. He was a man of commanding presence, exacting in his business as well as in his family relations. During a number of years, Mr. Smoot was bishop of one of the ecclesiastical wards of Salt Lake City. City lots and farms could be had for the taking. He brought several slaves with him, and they rendered valuable aid in his pioneer work. Mr. Smoot soon became comparatively wealthy. In 1872 he was called to preside over the Utah Stake of Zion with headquarters at Provo City, distant from Salt Lake City about forty-seven miles, south. The principal part of the "mission" was, however, to superintend the erection of a woolen factory in Provo. Land was plentiful and cheap, and Mr. Smoot again availed himself of the manifold opportunities. He went into the merchandise business and became president of the Provo "Co-op" store. In addition to his other enterprises, he organized the Provo Lumber and Building Company and a flouring mill company. During the early '80's he and others erected a bank building and went into the banking business.

While residing in Salt Lake City, A. O. Smoot took as his plural wife a Norwegian girl, Anna Mouritzen, who pulled a hand-cart from the Missouri River to Salt Lake City, a distance of more than one thousand miles. That girl became the mother of Reed Smoot, who was born in 1862, the same year in which Thomas Kearns was born.

In sketching the early career of Reed Smoot, it is well to quote from an interview he gave a representative of the Cleveland "Plaindealer" in Washington, D. C., in 1908.

The physical appearance of Reed Smoot is described by the interviewer, James B. Morrow, in the following words:

"There are a million faces in the west like Smoot's—agri-

John Doyle Lee

REED SMOOT

cultural faces—angular in their lines and common in all other respects. . . . . He is slender, large framed and straight."

Speaking of himself in the same interview, Reed Smoot said:

"When I was graduated from the State University, at the age of eighteen, my father said he would help me if I desired to enter a profession. I told him I wanted to be a business man. While going to school at Provo City, I worked on Saturdays and during vacations in the woolen mill, going from one department to another. I am competent to-day to earn my living in any woolen mill in this country and in any branch of the business—weaving, dyeing, running the engine, or keeping the books. I made a loom and wove surcingles which I sold to farmers. The money was put away for me by my mother.

"So I told my father that I should strike out for myself. I went to work for one dollar a day in the Provo co-operative store sacking grain and dried fruit and moving barrels and boxes in the warehouse. I overheard my father say to the manager, 'It is a new experience for Reed, but he will soon get tired of it.' And right there I said to myself, 'I'll stick until I have that man's job'—meaning the manager. And I did—I had not long to wait.

"I saved all the money I could, but it wasn't much. It seemed that I should never have five hundred dollars. You see, I was trying to accumulate some capital and go into business for myself. When I had the chance of buying a half interest in a drug store, I went to Salt Lake City and called on Horace S. Eldridge, general manager of Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution, whose daughter I was to marry some years later. I had never seen Mr. Eldridge, but I walked boldly up to him and told him I wanted to borrow $1,000.

"'What security,' he asked, 'have you to offer?'

"I looked rather theatrical, I fear, as I replied, 'Nothing, sir, but my word.'

"Mr. Eldridge was a large, kind man, and at my answer he laughed tremendously, but I got the money. Thus it was at the age of nineteen I became the proprietor of a store of my own. Then I saw my partner intoxicated on the street and bought him out, going still further in debt. For the amount of money invested, the drug store at Provo, now a wholesale establishment, has paid me better than mines, sheep or anything else. When I went into the drug business I didn't give up my employment, and after five years was made general manager of the Provo woolen mill and later president. In the meantime I established the Provo Commercial and Savings Bank, still being no more than a boy, and I own the bank to-day."

It is unnecessary to follow the "boy" Reed any further through the long list of his remarkable infantile achievements. But, in justice to his father, and to the public, a few facts, not given by the youthful financier, should be stated.

No other evidence than the subject matter just quoted is necessary to prove that Reed Smoot is a monumental egotist. And like all egotists, Mr. Smoot submerges family, friends and all else in his effort at self-exaltation.

Even Mr. Smoot will hardly deny that his effort in the interview with Mr. Morrow was to impress upon the people of the United States that he had risen to a senatorship by forces entirely within himself; that he was precociously gifted with almost supernatural ability; that even in his youth, the Lord had the "boy" in view as the future "financial apostle" of the Mormon Church.

According to his own statements, the "boy" Reed, at eighteen, had passed through the district school, the Brigham Young Academy at Provo, and the State University, and in the meantime, Saturdays and vacations, had mastered all the intricate details of the manufacture of woolen goods.

The "boy" Reed's ambition was insatiable. According to his own story, the next thing he went after was another man's job. And by the aid of his father, to whom he gives no credit, he soon pried the other man loose.

The next achievement of the precocious "boy" was to borrow one thousand dollars on his "word." Again the youthful prodigy forgot to tell the reporter that his father's excellent financial standing was behind the one thousand dollars. The drug store followed. And again the entirely self-made "boy" forgot to tell an expectant world that in addition to becoming a vendor of drugs, he was also a vendor of whiskey, and that behind his prescription case, so it is rumored, those who are "on" can get drinks at fifteen cents per. (In that, however, Reed had the exalted example of Francis M. Lyman, who sold whiskey in Fillmore in 1867 by the drink or quart to any one who had the price.) Whether or not, like Francis M. Lyman, the making of drunkards was a part of the necessary training for the apostolate for Reed Smoot, historians have not stated.

The "boy" Reed's bank enterprise, as given to the reporter, was as much of an illusion as the other achievements, backed by his father.

As an illustration of Reed Smoot's exhibition of egotism in the Senate, the following is taken from the Washington (D. C.) "Herald":

"Senator Smoot of Utah takes a large part in the doings of the upper house, and he is very nervous when he has to sit and listen to statements from other Senators with which he does not agree. He has an unfortunate habit of wearing a palpable sneer on such occasions, but the speakers never seem to notice his disapproval. . . .

"Another of the steady habits of the tall and slender Senator from the Mormon State is giving advice. He frequently takes a seat near a Senator of his own party, who may be making a speech, especially if it be in defense of the Aldrich bill, and he coaches that Senator from the start to finish. . . ."

In concluding this sketch of the "boy" financier of Provo, it is necessary to introduce Jesse Knight, a townsman of the gentleman with the "common" face and financial head.

"Uncle" Jesse, as he is affectionately called by everybody who knows him, has lived nearly all his life in Provo. In the face of obstacles that would have appalled a less resolute man, he became a multi-millionaire by real, honest mining. He is an earnest and consistent Latter-day Saint. It is reported that he pays about one hundred thousand dollars per annum as tithes to the Mormon Church. With all his wealth "Uncle" Jesse is modest and unassuming. His reputation for truth and honor is unsurpassed. "Uncle" Jesse's only misfortune—a misfortune in Utah—is that he is a Democrat.

At the State Democratic convention held in Logan, October, 1908, Jesse Knight was nominated for Governor. For reasons best known to himself, he declined the honor. Subsequently the State committee nominated Jesse William Knight, a son of "Uncle" Jesse. The younger Knight is a man of brains, energy and good executive ability, proved by the fact that the management of his father's vast mining and smelting interests largely devolves on him.

The Republican leaders were badly frightened. Even the saintly financial apostle, Reed Smoot, in his stump speeches, descended to slurs of the young Democratic nominee for Governor.

The following extracts from a speech delivered by "Uncle" Jesse at Provo, November 2, 1908, are self-explanatory.

"Now, I would not have thought to mention what I am about to mention, but I have good reason to know that Senator Smoot said the following (I read in the paper at Tintic): 'The first money I ever made I put in the Sioux mine, and I did not have to ask my father, either.' I do not know what Senator Smoot meant, whether Will Knight was the one he was aiming at, or whether he wanted to make everybody believe that he was smarter than his father. Of course, we think he wanted everybody to know that he did not have to ask his father. Now there is another thing I am going to make mention of. I think I am the most over-rated man in the State of Utah, and I think Senator Smoot is the next. (Applause.) And I know this is true also. It has been said by some of the big Republican guns travelling around the State, that it needs something more than money to run for office. And it has been said, also, that a man did not need any brains in a mining country. That is a business that does not require any brains, the taking of money out of the ground. I am not disputing that at all.

"Of course, it had reference to me, because I have been in the business the past twenty-five years. When I refused the nomination I acknowledged that, and it was ample proof that I did not think I was brainy enough to be governor of Utah. That should have satisfied the Republican leaders so that it should have not been necessary for a Senator of the United States to trouble himself and the people of the State in what I already myself had confessed. In so far as Jesse William Knight is concerned, he is the right kind of man for governor. He is not injured in the gaining of money like others. He is not seeking office and does not owe any man a dollar.

"I know some people with whom I am acquainted—whom I have known for years. When they were small, they thought when they grew up they would be superintendents of big institutions. I have heard some people tell this until it rang in my ears like a saw. You have heard this yourself and Reed Smoot tells everybody about it. Now, the first money I knew him to make (understand, I know this) was the giving of orders on the Co-op store so that his workers could not trade anywhere else, and then once a month he would go around and draw ten per cent. from the store on account of giving the people those store orders. I do not know what he did with this ten per cent., but it was the first money I ever knew him to make. Of that I am sure.

"I have known him about as long as anybody has. I bought the Co-op store, and after I bought it he wanted me to give him ten per cent. for sending customers to me, and I told him I would not be a party to that kind of business. (Applause.) He said that he would go to some other store and give his orders. I told him I did not care, that I was not going to be a party to that kind of a transaction and take some poor man's wages. You see, he got the commission of every man's order he sent there. Now, there are different kinds of brains, and I am very glad I have not raised a son that has the depraved brain that wants money bad enough to get it in that kind of way."

In selecting the pigments with which to paint a lifelike portrait of Reed Smoot, it has been necessary to anticipate incidents in his career. But the finishing colors furnished by "Uncle" Jesse Knight are well worth the broken links in the brief story of the Apostle-Senator's life. Those last bits of color added by the quaint but masterful brush of "Uncle" Jesse, prove that the term "dime squeezer," applied to Reed Smoot by many of his townsmen, is most appropriate. Nor did "Uncle" Jesse tell all the truth. While Reed Smoot was in active management of the woolen factory, men, women and girls, when they needed cash for taxes or other necessities, were compelled to discount the Co-op store orders twenty-five per cent., and the saintly sharks like Reed Smoot reaped the benefit of the necessities and poverty of the woolen mill employees. And during the April conference of 1900 that monumental egotist and oppressor of the poor was ordained an "apostle" of the Saviour, and a "prophet, seer and revelator" for the Mormon Church!

CHAPTER LIII

REED SMOOT ANNOUNCES HIS CANDIDACY FOR U. S. SENATE

Before the Women's Republican Club, the Relief Society, or some other meeting of the sisters in Provo, Reed Smoot, on May 11, 1902, announced his candidacy for the United States Senate.

The news was flashed throughout the land of Zion, and there was exceeding great joy among the faithful of Israel. "Surely," they thought, "the Lord moves in mysterious ways his wonders to perform." They remembered how the Lord's prophets had "fooled the Gentiles" by the ostensible surrender of polygamy. They also remembered how those same prophets had fooled the Government in the "Prayer for Amnesty," and the willful treachery they had subsequently practised. They also remembered how the prophets had fooled the people of the United States when they, the prophets, told the Saints to divide on political lines. "Surely," the Saints thought, "our holy prophets must have been inspired to enable them to become such smooth and conscienceless liars, and the fact that only twelve years have elapsed since the campaign of deception began, and the time when we will have a holy prophet in the United States Senate, is another convincing testimony that the Lord is behind this great and glorious work."

On the subject of his obtaining the "consent" of the chief prophets, the apostle-Senator-elect subsequently testified as follows before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections—Vol. III, page 228:

"Mr. Tayler: In 1902 you went and saw President Smith?

"Senator Smoot: Yes; I saw President Smith with his counsellors in the office there.

"Mr. Tayler: How did the subject arise then?

"Senator Smoot: This is the way the subject arose: I told President Smith that if I was going to be a candidate for the United States Senate, I wanted to know early, because if I was going to do it, I wanted to commence and form an organization, and by that organization *select* men who would be favorable to me in the legislature; that I thought I ought to know early, and, as I said this morning, I asked if I could receive a leave of absence to do it, and they granted it."

It is evident from the above quotation that Apostle Smoot was apprehensive that his candidacy would arouse some antagonism among Republican Mormons, as well as among Republican Gentiles. To all classes, saints and sinners, it was as plain as the sun at noon-day that the prophets believed that the time had come when it would be safe for them to take the first step towards controlling the Government of the United States in the interests of political supremacy of the prophets and the perpetuation of polygamy. To meet that latent opposition the apostle-Senator-elect wanted to begin early and "form an organization"—a machine—that would enable him to "select men who would be favorable" to him "in the legislature." In fact, Reed Smoot, the "holy" apostle, not the people, was to "select" the members of the legislature.

The machine was formed, and its ramifications were extended to all parts of the State. In only one county, so far as known, was there successful opposition to Smoot's candidates. In Piute County, the "Smoot ring," as it was called, put forth James H. Peterson, bishop of the Circleville ward, as the Smoot candidate. Piute County contained a large percentage of Gentiles in its mining population, and they ruled the truculent bishop to the rear. William E. White, an uncompromising opponent of apostolic Senators, was nominated by the Republicans for the Legislature on an anti-Smoot platform, or, rather, an understanding.

As an illustration of Smoot's methods, and the abject subserviency of the Saints, one instance only will be cited, which occurred in one of the southern counties.

By sharp practice a faction of Republicans nominated a man with an unsavory reputation for the legislature. In fact, his reputation for being a smooth cattle thief and "tin-horn" gambler was unsurpassed in Utah. One of the bishop's counsellors in the chief ward of the county went around among the Saints and told them it would be an everlasting disgrace to elect the man with the unsavory reputation. And although the counsellor was a dyed-in-the-wool Mormon Republican, he counselled the Saints to vote for the Democratic candidate for the legislature. Within a few days after the counsellor had visited the Saints in the interest of decency, and the Democratic candidate, he received a "hunch" from some quarter to the effect that the man with the unsavory reputation had promised in writing that he would vote for Apostle Smoot for United States Senator. And the good counsellor lost no time in undoing his work in the interest of decency in politics. He again went among the Saints and told them that the man with the unsavory reputation had promised to vote for Apostle Smoot, and that as "the welfare of Zion" was perhaps depending on the election of a cattle thief, who would vote for the Apostle, the Saints should, for the nonce, relegate their ideals of morality to the rear. And the good Saints did so. Smoot had "selected" the creature from one of the southern counties, and, faithful to his pledge, voted for Smoot first, last, and all the time.

It was understood that W. S. McCornick, a Salt Lake banker, and O. J. Salisbury, a wealthy mining man, and several others, were, or had been, candidates for the United States Senate. But no sooner did Smoot announce his candidacy than every other candidate "made for the tall timber" and left the Apostle without the semblance of competition in the senatorial race. Their familiarity with the power of the prophets convinced them that any opposition to their will would put them permanently out of political business. And the fair-minded will require no further evidence that Reed Smoot was a representative of the Mormon prophets rather than a representative of the people. And that when the prophets so elect, they can defeat, or elect to office any man, irrespective of creed or political belief.

The candidacy of Apostle Smoot created widespread opposition among the people of the United States, which was voiced by the leading papers of the nation. President Roosevelt sensed the danger of Smoot's election and authorized the publication of the following far-seeing, almost prophetic, statement of his attitude on the matter of sending an apostle to the Senate. President Roosevelt said:

"I am deeply interested in the future of Utah, in its material upbuilding, as well as the future and best interests of the Republican party.

"The election to the United States Senate of an apostle would work great harm to the State. It would be very unwise.

"It would certainly lead to contentions, strife and bitterness here, if not in Utah, and would unquestionably be a misfortune to those who are interested in all that goes to make the State of Utah prosperous and great.

"I have every confidence in the wisdom of the majority of the members of the State legislature, and I feel sure if they understand the gravity of the situation as it appears to me, and as I have heard it expressed by members of the Senate, they will refrain from any action that will not result in good for Utah and her people.

"I desire you to place me on record as kindly but firmly advising against the election of any apostle to a United States Senatorship."

The foregoing was received in Salt Lake City on the tenth day of January, and while the Utah Legislature was in session. The message was received by a defiant outburst by the Smoot machine, and by many members of Utah's legislative quorum. The President was accused of poking his nose into affairs that did not concern him, and vigorously told to mind his own business.

Since then, the pro-Mormon press has denied that the President sent the message, and have charged the alleged conspiracy to Senator Thomas Kearns. The unbiased reader will, however, note the fact that the message bears the personal pronoun earmarks of President Roosevelt's public communications. Another fact, that entirely overthrows the assertions of the pro-Mormon press, is found in the fact that the President has never denied the authenticity of the message. And that fact will be sufficient for those who know of President Roosevelt's facility and energy in denying reports that are falsely credited to him.

Two or three incidents, only, of the proceedings of the legislature are worthy of mention.

Joseph V. Robison, one of the stalwarts who supported Thatcher from start to finish, in speaking against the election of Smoot, made the following significant prediction: "If Reed

Smoot is to be elected, I want to go on record as saying that this people will pay the penalty of their folly in tears and sorrow."

Then, as now, Joseph V. Robison was a conscientious and consistent Latter-day Saint; one who respected legitimate priestly authority, but one who would brook no trespass by the prophets on the political rights of the people. For this outspoken opposition to Reed Smoot, Joseph V. Robison, whose hair had become as white as snow during the years that he had devoted to his church, was subjected to insult on the floor of the house by Thomas C. Callister, ex-bishop of the Fillmore ward in which Mr. Robison resided. Then, as now, Bishop Callister was a servile tool of the prophets, although he had many amiable traits of character. As an illustration of the manner in which religion and politics were not infrequently mixed in legislative matters, the remark made about Senator Robison by Representative Callister will be given, and is as follows:

"No one should pay any attention to the gentleman from the fifth district; it is well known that he never did have only one foot in the Church."

William E. White of Piute County delivered an able and eloquent speech against the election of Reed Smoot. An incident in connection with Mr. White's opposition to the Apostle is well worth relating. One evening, just prior to the final vote, Mr. White received an invitation to meet a gentleman in the Knutsford Hotel. After waiting some time in the lobby, a man unknown to Mr. White approached him and said, "Come with me, please." Mr. White followed his guide and was ushered into the august presence of Apostle Smoot. The latter did not need the vote of Mr. White. But the member from Piute was a Gentile, and in order to strengthen his case, in view of a possible effort to oust him, Apostle Smoot wanted as many Gentile votes as could be secured. Mr. Smoot enquired as to why he, Mr. White, would not vote for him. Mr. White responded: "I am under no obligation to you for my election, and I have the right to vote as I please."

Replying, the Apostle said, "No, I did not assist you, but I could have defeated you."

"Yes," replied Mr. White, "and that is the very reason why I am going to vote against you."

That session of the legislature was the political ending of the brilliant attorney from Piute.

Apostle Reed Smoot was duly and overwhelmingly elected.

CHAPTER LIV

ORGANIZED OPPOSITION TO APOSTLE REED SMOOT

On January 21, 1903, Governor Heber M. Wells issued a certificate of election to Reed Smoot. And immediately thereafter many of the leading citizens of Salt Lake City organized for the purpose of opposing the seating of the Apostle.

The initial proceedings of the Smoot opponents were in the form of a protest which embodied much of the evidence hereinbefore quoted.

The opening paragraphs of the protest, and its title, were as follows:

"PROTEST IN THE MATTER OF REED SMOOT, SENATOR-ELECT FROM THE STATE OF UTAH

"To the President and Members of the Senate of the United States:

"We, the undersigned, resident citizens and qualified electors of the State of Utah, do hereby most respectfully protest:

"That Apostle Reed Smoot, Senator-elect from the State of Utah, to whom, on or about the 21st day of January, 1903, a certificate of election was issued in due form by the Governor of said State, ought not to be permitted to qualify by taking the oath of office or to sit as a member of the United States Senate, for reasons affecting the honor and dignity of the United States and their Senators in Congress.

"We protest as above upon the ground and for the reason that he is one of a self-perpetuating body of fifteen men, who, constituting the ruling authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or "Mormon" Church, claim and by their followers are accorded the right to claim, supreme authority, divinely sanctioned, to shape the belief and control the conduct of those under them in all matters whatsoever, civil and religious, temporal and spiritual, and who thus, uniting in themselves authority in church and state, do so exercise the same as to inculcate a belief in polygamy and polygamous cohabitation; who countenance and connive at violations of the laws of the State prohibiting the same regardless of pledges made for the purpose of obtaining statehood and of covenants made with the people of the United States, and who, by all the means in their power, protect and honor those who with themselves violate the laws of the land and are guilty of practices destructive of the family and the home."

After the foregoing introduction by the protestants they proceed with a clear, masterful and unanswerable indictment of the Mormon leaders, which involves treason in their teachings and unparalleled treachery in their conduct.

The protest closes with the following terse paragraphs:

"We submit that however formal and regular may be Apostle Smoot's credentials or his qualifications by way of citizenship, whatever his protestations of patriotism and loyalty, it is clear that the obligations of any official oath which he may subscribe are and of necessity must be as threads of tow compared with the covenants which bind his intellect, his will, and his affections, and which hold him forever in accord with and subject to the will of a defiant and lawbreaking apostolate.

"We ask in behalf of ourselves, and, as we firmly believe, in behalf of thousands of the members of his faith, that the high honor of a Senatorship be not accorded this man, though temporarily released from some of the active duties of his ecclesiastical office; that the apostolate of the Mormon Church be not permitted to succeed in this the supreme test of the forbearance of the American people.

"We ask that in the exercise of your high prerogative to see that no harm come to the Republic, you do halt this man at the door of the Senate that he may be there inquired of touching the matters we have herein set forth.

"Dated at Salt Lake City, January 26, 1903."

The protest was signed by the following-named citizens of Salt Lake City:

W. M. Paden, P. L. Williams, E. B. Critchlow, E. W. Wilson, C. C. Goodwin, W. A. Neldon, Clarence T. Brown, Ezra Thompson, J. J. Corum, George R. Hancock, W. Mont. Ferry, J. L.

Leilich, Harry C. Hill, C. E. Allen, George M. Scott, S. H. Lewis, H. G. McMillan, Abill Leonard.

The foregoing document was supplemented by an affidavit by J. L. Leilich, which practically embodied the subject-matter of the original protest. There is, however, an interesting sidelight on the effort of the prophets to obtain statehood for Utah that should be quoted; it is the tenth article of J. L. Leilich's affidavit and reads as follows:

"Tenth: That when Utah was seeking admission into the Union, the Hon. Jeremiah M. Wilson, a distinguished lawyer and jurist, was employed by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints of Utah, and in his argument before the United States Commission said in part, speaking to the question as to whether Congress could enforce any compact which it might require as a condition of statehood upon the part of Utah:

"'But you ask me what is the remedy, and I answer there are plenty of remedies and in your hands.

"'Suppose they violate their compact; suppose that after they put this (the anti-polygamy clause) into the constitution and thereby induce them to grant the high privilege and political right of statehood, they should turn right around and exercise the bad faith which is attributed to them here—what would you do? You could shut the doors of the Senate and the House of Representatives against them; you could deny them a voice in the councils of the nation, because they have acted in bad faith and violated their solemn agreement, by which they succeeded in getting themselves into the condition of statehood.

"'You could deny them the Federal judiciary; you could deny them the right to use the mails—that indispensable thing in the matter of trade and commerce of this country. There are many ways in which peaceably, but all powerfully, you could reach such a case and not put a tithe of the strain on the Constitution that it was subjected to when the act was passed, authorizing the attachment and arrest of a witness who had not been subpœnaed, and forfeiting the property of this Church and commanding the courts what kind of a judgment to render. After these, Congress cannot doubt its ability to devise means to meet the emergencies or its courage to grapple with troublesome questions.'"

The above is a sample of the arguments used, and the impracticable remedies proposed by hired attorneys of the prophets to quiet the national conscience and to allay the fears of the people.

The reproduction of Mr. Wilson's arguments, however, serves to illustrate and reinforce the statements hereinbefore made that the effort to secure statehood was a conspiracy, pure and simple, for the express purpose of loosening the grip of Uncle Sam on the throat of the "twin relic of barbarism," and to perpetuate in another and more dangerous form the absolute rule of the Mormon priesthood over one of the choicest and most valuable portions of the United States. The entire success of that conspiracy has been abundantly proved, and in its success the people of the United States are now confronted by an infinitely more difficult problem than that which confronted them prior to the relinquishment of their exclusive control of Utah as a territory.

Nor was Utah alone in the protest against the retention of Smoot in the United States Senate. In nearly every State east of the Missouri River the sentiments of the people found voice in mammoth petitions to the Senators of the respective States asking that Apostle Reed Smoot be not accepted as a member of the upper house. Money was subscribed and an eminent attorney employed to represent the interests of the protestants.

As far as possible, the aid of the Federal power was invoked to compel the attendance of witnesses from Utah. Subpœnas were placed in the hands of United States Marshal Ben B. Heywood, a native of Utah, and who was familiar with every trail and road, with every pass and secluded nook in the State, and whose diligence is attested by the fact that only a very few of the witnesses in Utah escaped service. Those few fled at the first signal of danger. And they were those who were guilty of post-Manifesto polygamy, or could have given affirmative evidence of cases with which they were acquainted. Other post-Manifesto polygamists like Apostles John W. Taylor and M. F. Cowley remained in Canada or Mexico and declined to appear as witnesses, although they were assured in advance that the evidence they might give would not be used against them personally. Other witnesses whose evidence was important were taken suddenly ill, and were excused by means of easily-procured physicians' certificates.

In fact, it was an outward show on the part of the prophets to aid the Senate in making a full investigation while secretly every effort was made to suppress everything but negative testimony.

CHAPTER LV

SENATE ADMITS REED SMOOT—INVESTIGATION FOLLOWS

The seating of Apostle Smoot prior to the hearing of the protestants' indictment was the first victory for the prophets.

The opening sessions of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections may be found on page 40, Vol. I, of the Proceedings, which reads as follows:

Washington, D. C., January 16, 1904.

The Committee met at 10:30 o'clock a. m.

Present: Senators Burrows (Chairman), McComas, Beveridge, Dillingham, Hopkins, Pettus, Dubois, Bailey and Overman.

The Chairman: The Committee is advised that the protestants and the respondent in the pending matter are represented by counsel. The Chair will inquire if anyone appears for the protestants at this time.

Mr. Robert W. Tayler: I appear for the protestants.

The Chairman: Who appears for the respondent, the junior Senator from Utah?

Mr. A. S. Worthington: I appear for him, Mr. Chairman, and so does Mr. Waldemar Van Cott.

Mr. Thomas P. Stevenson: I appear for the National Reform Association, one of the organization which has been protesting against the seating of Mr. Smoot.

The Chairman: Do you represent the original protestants?

Mr. Stevenson: We are original.

The Chairman: Do you speak for any of the signers of the protest now under consideration?

Mr. Stevenson: We filed a protest last spring, at the time Senator Smoot took his seat.

The Chairman: May I ask your residence?

Mr. Stevenson: In Philadelphia.

The Chairman: The Chair will say to counsel representing the protestants and the respondent, that before entering upon any inquiry into the subject-matter involved in this controversy, it was deemed expedient by the committee to request the protestants, by their attorneys, to appear and advise the committee in a general way of the testimony intended to be submitted in support of the protest, or any part thereof, and the legal contentions connected therewith.

It was also deemed advisable that the junior Senator from Utah (Mr. Smoot), by himself or his attorney, should, if he so desired, advise the committee what part of the contention of the protestants' counsel it was proposed to controvert. Such a course it was believed would have a tendency to define the issues and mark the scope of the inquiry. Mr. Tayler, the committee will now hear you in behalf of the protestants.

Mr. Worthington: May I ask, before the counsel begins, whether I am to understand from the statement of the chairman that it is intended now merely to present the points to be argued, or are we to argue them?

The Chairman: Simply the points upon which the protestants and the respondent intend to rely.

Mr. Worthington: I understand.

The Chairman: Mr. Tayler, you may proceed.

The foregoing is merely an introduction of the personnel of the Senate committee, and of the counsel for the respective parties to one of the most memorable contests ever waged before the bar of the Senate.

The report of the Proceedings required about four thousand printed pages, and it therefore is impracticable to give even a synopsis of the more important portions of the testimony. The best that can be done in the way of enlightening the reader is to give a condensed statement of the facts which were proved, and which are amply supported by the testimony of the prophets themselves.

It was proved, as hereinbefore clearly pointed out, that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a theo-political organization that arrogates to itself divine authority to rule its members in all things spiritual and temporal. And that its heaven-ordained destiny is, under the title of the Kingdom of God, to politically rule over the entire earth. And it was further proved that the leaders of the Church are working with tireless energy to achieve those objects. And that any prophet who will not stoop to trickery, deception and treachery in order to accomplish those ends, is, according to their standard of ethics, unworthy to associate with the leading authorities.

It was also proved that the first presidency and apostles constitute a band of fifteen men who select their successors in office; that the act of "sustaining" them by the Saints is perfunctory and mechanical.

It was proved that polygamy is a cardinal and vital principle of the faith and practice of the Saints. It was proved by the admissions of the prophets that, in 1890, the Mormon God countermanded his alleged original command to practice polygamy and unlawful cohabitation. It was further proved that the prophets pledged their faith and honor to President Harrison that they would exchange the practice of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation for a pardon for past offenses.

It was proved by the admissions of the chief prophet, and reinforced by the testimony of other Mormon witnesses, that three of the apostles, Abraham H. Cannon, John W. Taylor and Mathias F. Cowley, have taken plural wives since pledging their faith and honor that the practice should cease. It was clearly proved that those men who affect the rôle of prophets are alike disregardful of the commands of their God, of the laws of their country and State, and of their solemn obligations to the people of the United States.

It was further proved that Apostle Reed Smoot was a member of that self-perpetuating band of prophets. And that at no time, nor under any circumstances, had he protested against the well-known cases of post-Manifesto polygamy, or against the practice of polygamous cohabitation by his equals or superiors in ecclesiastical office. And that in thus failing to rebuke those men he became a party to their crimes of lascivious law-breaking and pledge-breaking. And the proving of those facts involved the all-important truth that Reed Smoot was an unfit person to occupy a seat in the United States Senate, and by his presence in that powerful law-making body to give aid and comfort to an aggregation of conspirators against the perpetuity of the form of government that, during more than seventy years, has been more than patient with the chief conspirators and their successors in office.

Brief mention is necessary of the closing incidents in the great Senatorial farce that marked the ending of the Smoot investigation.

The Committee on Privileges and Elections submitted to the Senate a resolution that Reed Smoot be expelled.

A few extracts from two or three of the speeches made by the "grave and reverend" Senators will be interesting as well as amusing to those who are familiar with the facts in the case.

Senator Hopkins, seemingly inspired by the shifting duplicity exhibited in the testimony of President Joseph F. Smith, and Apostles Francis M. Lyman, Reed Smoot and others, spoke as follows:

"Mr. President, we can see from the testimony that appeared before the Committee on Privileges and Elections that the Mormon Church is undergoing a radical change for the better.

"Reed Smoot is an apostle of this higher and better Mormonism. He stands for the sacred things of the church and against polygamy and all the kindred vices connected with that loathsome practice. In his position as a member of the church, and as an apostle and preacher of the doctrines of the church he had done more to stamp out this foul blot upon the civilization of Utah and the other Territories where polygamy has been practised, than any other thousand men outside of the church."
—Congressional Record, page 1129, January 15, 1907.

"The truth of the matter is, Mr. President, that Reed Smoot, by the sworn testimony given in this case, has proved a better character than any other Senator here has a right to claim. He is so good a man that I sometimes almost doubt him. He does not drink or chew or smoke or swear, and he is not a polygamist but on the contrary, Mr. President, from early youth, as the testimony read by the Senator from Indiana a few moments ago shows, he was distinguished in the Mormon Church for his opposition to plural marriages. In early youth, although the son of a plural wife, he raised his voice against the continuance of polygamous marriages in the Mormon Church, and from that day until this has stood the opponent of that idea. It is not on that ground, then, that we can expel him, and, of course, we can not expel him for a mere belief."—From speech by Senator Foraker, Congressional Record, page 3465, February 20, 1907.

If the statements of the Senators just quoted were true, the biography of Reed Smoot could be written as follows:

The birth of Reed Smoot was signalized by an earthquake that shook the land of Zion from center to circumference. To this day there are awesome whisperings among the Saints that Reed Smoot was to be the Moses who would lead modern Israel out of the bondage of polygamy which, through the revelations of the Almighty, was declared to be a righteous and eternal principle, and must be practised by the Latter-day Saints on pain of damnation for refusal. Even to this day the Saints, with bated breath, tell how the new-born prophet's first wail was a protest against the sexual crimes of modern Israel. It is also asserted that a faint echo of that first wail against polygamy reached Illinois and was treasured in the memory of a man by the name of Hopkins. Proceeding eastward, the wail attracted the attention of a man by the name of Beveridge in Indiana. Recoiling from the ears, or cheek, of the man in Indiana the wail bounded as far as Ohio and smote the ears of a man by the name of Foraker.

It is also related of the infant prophet Reed that when six months old he rebuked his mother for having brought him into the world by the polygamous route; and that when three years old the puling prophet upbraided his father for having begotten him in plural marriage.

At twelve years of age, so it is related, the boy prophet visited President Brigham Young and discoursed as follows:

"I was born to be the 'apostle of a higher and better Mormonism.' But, before proceeding, I will bear my testimony to you that I know that Joseph Smith was a prophet of the true and living God. And that as such the Prophet Joseph couldn't have made any mistakes in the subject-matter of his revelations. And for that reason I will gladly put my O. K. on the polygamy revelation. I believe that it was revealed for the eternal increase and exaltation of men, if not of women. I believe, yea, verily, I know, that God said to Joseph the Prophet: 'And again, as pertaining to the law of the priesthood: If any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then is he justified; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else.'

"'And if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him, therefore he is justified.'

"Notwithstanding that God surely said that to his prophet, I believe that polygamy is a 'loathsome practice' and——"

It is related that Brigham gravely arose and gently but firmly took the would-be apostle of "a higher and better Mormonism" by the left ear and remarked: "You hare-brained little fool, you haven't sense enough to know the difference between twaddle and logic. Haven't you read in that same revelation: 'Verily, verily I say unto you, except ye abide my law, ye cannot attain to this glory.' And further on where the revelation says, 'And he that abideth not this law—shall be damned, saith the Lord.'"

And it is further related that while President Young was speaking he led the ambitious youth to the front door of the Lion house and kicked him down the front steps.

However much the above may sound like burlesque, it is the position in which Reed Smoot is placed when he assumes to be better than the original Prophet. The fact is, that if Reed Smoot were to raise his voice in protest against the polygamous practices of his fellow-apostles, and especially against the alleged purity of the polygamous relations, he would not only be reduced to the ranks but would be excommunicated for "apostasy."

And yet this Senatorial creature from Utah, knowing full well that Foraker, Hopkins and Beveridge and others were, whether knowingly or unknowingly, defending his right to sit in the Senate, by the utterance of the most outrageous falsehoods, sat silent and dumb as an ass, not even a protesting bray against the untruths escaped his prophetic lips. The sworn record of the Smoot investigation proves that the alleged "apostle of a higher and better Mormonism" has not at any time or place within the hearing of a fellow Mormon ever protested against the rightfulness of the principle or practice of polygamy. And his defenders are challenged to produce even one scintilla of evidence that will furnish any warrant or excuse for the statements of those Senators who defended the right of Reed Smoot to retain his seat upon the grounds that he is a better man than his apostolic associates. And if, as Senator Foraker affirmed, Reed Smoot "has proven a better character than any other Senator here has a right to claim" then may the good Lord have mercy on the remainder of them.

It is significant that not one of those senatorial apologists for Apostle Smoot even remotely referred to the more dangerous feature of the case—the union of church and state. And for that reason there is greater pleasure in quoting the few remarks made by Senator Newlands of Nevada on the political aspect of the "Mormon problem" which was so distinctly developed in the testimony before the Committee on Privileges and Elections.

And the candid reader will at once note the contrast between the dignity and unanswerable logic of Senator Newlands' speech and the verbal mucus which the pro-Smoot Senators exuded over the Mormon prophet before proceeding to swallow him. And another fact should be remembered, Senator Newlands spoke from the viewpoint of a near neighbor of the prophets, and from the vantage ground of actual experience with the problem which he was discussing. And it also should be remembered that Senator Newlands was facing the potential power of the Mormon hierarchy in his own State. And yet another fact should be remembered; Senator Dubois of Idaho, and Senator Newlands of Nevada were the only men of all the inter-mountain States who had the courage to voice their well-founded convictions regarding the menace of the embryo imperium in imperio that the Mormon prophets have established in Utah.

Senator Warren of Wyoming, who interrupted Senator Newlands, holds his position as United States Senator by the grace of the Mormon hierarchy, and no one is more fully aware of that fact than is Senator Warren. There are fully eight thousand Mormon votes in Wyoming, and woe be unto the politician who, by word or deed, incurs the hot displeasure of the prophets. He would be compelled to "bend the pregnant hinges of his knees" to the Mormon despots the same as did Governor Murphy, whose surrender has already been related in these pages.

And yet another fact should be remembered. The determined effort that was made to close the debate, and not to permit Senator Newlands even "two minutes" more of time, clearly proves that the pro-Smoot Senators were apprehensive that more of the whitewash which they had applied to the Apostle-Senator would be rubbed off.

Senator Newlands spoke as follows (Congressional Record, page 3469, February 20, 1908):

"Mr. President: I wish, in a few words, to give my position in this matter. I have arrived at a conclusion with some difficulty. I would be glad if my conscience and my judgment would permit me to vote for the retention of Mr. Smoot as a member of this body. I have a high regard for Mr. Smoot personally, and, besides, personal interest would prompt me to vote for his retention. The Mormon Church is a strong political factor in a portion of Nevada, and the man who antagonizes that church takes his political life in his hand. But my conscience and judgment will not permit me to so vote. I do not believe that under the Constitution Mr. Smoot can be excluded upon the facts in this case by a majority vote. I believe that a two-thirds vote is required, and I shall so act.

"Mr. President, one of the central ideas of our Government is the separation of church and state. That is true of our National Government. That is true of our State governments. The union of church and state is accomplished when the state regulates and controls the church in spiritual matters. The union of church and state is as thoroughly accomplished when the church regulates and controls the state in temporal matters.

"The charge which is made against the Mormon Church, leaving entirely out of consideration the question of its sanction of polygamy and polygamous practices, is that from its very organization under Brigham Young up to the present time it has sought to control and does control the State of Utah in temporal matters. That church is not merely a religious organization. It has in view not only the maintenance of spiritual belief, but the control of its members in temporal matters—in matters of business, of industry, of commerce, of social life, and of political action. It acts as a unit in these matters, and its priests control its policies. It fills out completely the definition of hierarchy—a form of government administered by the priesthood, a sacred body of rulers. Unlike any other church in the country, it has a oneness and completeness of organization in matters temporal as well as spiritual, created by the genius of Brigham Young. Mr. Smoot is one of the high priests of this hierarchy, and the question is whether it is consistent with our institutions that this body of sacred rulers so potent in Utah shall be represented in the Senate by one of its members.

"I shall vote for the exclusion of Mr. Smoot, not because of any personal unfitness for the position which he holds, but because he is a high priest in a religious organization which believes in the union of church and state and which seeks to control the action of the State in temporal matters.

"But not content with dominion in Utah, this church is reaching out for the control of other States adjoining. To-day it holds the balance of power in the State of Idaho. I believe it holds the balance of power in the State of Wyoming."

"Mr. Warren (of Wyoming): I dissent from that statement and assert that the Mormon Church does not hold the balance of power in Wyoming, and there is no evidence that it seeks it.

"Mr. Newlands: My time is short and I decline to yield.

"The Vice-President: The Senator from Nevada declines to yield.

"Mr. Warren: I dissent from that statement and assert that the Mormon Church does not hold the balance of power in Wyoming, and there is no evidence that it seeks it.

"Mr. Newlands: The Mormon Church may soon hold the balance of power in the State of Nevada.

"Mr. Sutherland (of Utah): Mr. President ——

"The Vice-President: Does the Senator from Nevada yield to the Senator from Utah?

"Mr. Newlands: I decline to yield, as I have only a moment in which to conclude. The Mormon Church may hold the balance of power in the State of Colorado. Its organization is complete and effective in the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, which may become sovereign States. It is increasing in numbers and strength daily, not only by the birth of those born in the faith, but by the accession of numerous converts by a propaganda unceasing in its vigilance and energy. That church has elected one of its high priests, one of the sacred body controlling its policies, not only in matters spiritual, but in matters social, industrial, commercial, political, and governmental, Senator of the United States, and later on there may be others.

"The Vice-President rapped with his gavel.

"Mr. Hopkins: Mr. President ——

"Mr. Newlands: I ask unanimous consent that I may go on for two minutes.

"Mr. Gallinger: I object.

"Mr. Kean: I call for the regular order.

"The Vice-President: Under the unanimous consent agreement, the hour for debate has closed."

The fact is, and no one knows it to be a fact better than those Senators who voted for Reed Smoot, that his retention was a matter of political expediency rather than for constitutional reasons. They knew that if Reed Smoot were expelled, Utah, Idaho and Wyoming, all of them being under the absolute control of the Mormon prophets, would be switched into the Democratic column, and that the Republican party would lose three members of the House, six members of the Senate, and nine electoral votes. And the votes of those Senators proved that the majority of them did not understand the actual status of the questions at issue, or they deliberately sacrificed the best interests of three States on the altar of partisan politics, and by so doing gave aid and encouragement to a syndicate of treacherous law-breakers whose practices those grave and reverend Senators *affect* to despise.

The following are the names of those who voted for the expulsion of Reed Smoot:

YEAS—28

Bacon
Berry
Burrows
Carmack
Clapp
Clarke (Ark.)
Clay
Culberson
Dubois
Du Pont
Frazier
Hale
Hansbrough
Hemenway
Kittredge
La Follette
Latimer
McCreary
McLaurin
Money
Newlands
Overman
Pettus
Rayner
Simmons
Smith
Stone
Tillman

NAYS—42

Aldrich
Allee
Ankeny
Beveridge
Blackburn
Brandegee
Bulkeley
Burkett
Burnham
Clark (Mont.)
Clark (Wyo.)
Crane
Curtis
Daniel
Depew
Dick
Dillingham
Dolliver
Flint
Foraker
Frye
Fulton
Gallinger
Gamble
Heyburn
Hopkins
Kean
Knox
Lodge
Long
McCumber
Millard
Mulkey
Nelson
Nixon
Penrose
Perkins
Piles
Spooner
Sutherland
Warner
Warren

NOT VOTING—20

Allison
Bailey
Carter
Cullom
Dryden
Elkins
Foster
McEnery
Mallory
Martin
Morgan
Patterson
Platt
Proctor
Scott
Smoot
Taliaferro
Teller
Wetmore
Whyte

Many of the Senators not voting were paired with absentees or paired with those who were present.

CHAPTER LVI

NON-MORMONS REPUDIATE JOSEPH F. SMITH'S ALLEGATION OF CONDONEMENT—OPPOSITION CRYSTALLIZES INTO ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN PARTY

Early in March, 1904, Joseph F. Smith, President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, began his testimony before the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, in the matter—the seating of Apostle Reed Smoot in the Senate of the United States.

In his efforts to minimize the force of his testimony to the effect that, since the issuance of the Manifesto in 1890, he had paid no attention to the laws of God and men bearing on the subject of unlawful cohabitation, Joseph F. Smith endeavored to compel Utah Gentiles, because of alleged toleration, to become parties to his crimes.

A sample of his testimony is herewith given from pages 129 and 130, Volume I, of Proceedings:

"I had a plural family, if you please; that is, my first wife was married to me over thirty-eight years ago; my last wife was married to me over twenty years ago, and with these wives I had children, and I simply took my chances, preferring to meet the consequences of the law rather than to abandon my children and their mothers; and I have cohabited with my wives—not openly, that is, not in a manner that I thought would be offensive to my neighbors, but I have acknowledged them! I have visited them. They have borne me children since 1890 and I have done it knowing the responsibility and knowing that I was amenable to the law.

"Since the admission of the State there has been a sentiment existing and prevalent in Utah that these old marriages should be in a measure condoned. They were not looked upon as offensive, as really violative of law; they were, in other words, regarded as an existing fact, and if they saw any wrong in it they simply winked at it.

"In other words, Mr. Chairman, the people of Utah, as well as the people of this nation, are broad-minded and liberal-minded people, and they have rather condoned than otherwise, I presume, my offense against the law. . . . I preferred to face the penalties of the law to abandoning my families."

Except those Salt Lake Gentiles who were wedded to the interests of the Mormon Church by the ties of office, State and Federal, and those others who were down on their knees pleading for official preferment, there was universal indignation among the non-Mormon citizens. The Prophet's testimony was the principal topic of conversation on the streets, in the homes of the people, and the indignation was echoed from nearly every non-Mormon pulpit in Salt Lake City. The Salt Lake "Tribune" broke its fragile moorings to the Church-Republican party, and thundered its protests against the slanderous falsehoods uttered by the chief prophet, seer and revelator.

In the pursuit of their respective avocations, the Salt Lake Gentiles had paid not the slightest attention to the domestic affairs of President Joseph F. Smith. Indeed, the large majority of the non-Mormons took it for granted that the prophets were keeping their plighted faith with the Government. Some of them were aware that many of the polygamous Saints had returned to the former relations, and there were rumors to the effect that "sporadic" cases of polygamous marriages had taken place. But that the chief prophet had become the father of eleven children since he pledged his "faith and honor" that he would quit, was almost past belief. And after the Prophet's strenuous efforts to keep that fact from the Gentiles, to accuse them of condoning his crimes, was certainly just cause for righteous indignation. But the Prophet seemed to believe that the hunger for office would keep the Gentiles in line with Mormon interests. The limit of patience with the Church control of the functions of the State in forcing the election of Reed Smoot had, however, been reached. And the Prophet's testimony had merely precipitated the upheaval which the prophets, with dense stupidity, had been courting.

On March 11, 1904, a meeting of outraged non-Mormons was held and a preliminary organization effected.

During the remainder of the spring and summer months the anomalous position occupied by the non-Mormons in affiliating with the Church-Democratic and Church-Republican parties was widely and earnestly discussed. It was clearly seen that during more than ten years the non-Mormons, locally, in affiliating with the National parties, had been playing into, and strengthening the hands of the "inspired" criminals at the head of the Mormon Church—that the Gentiles were mere pawns on the political chess board of the scheming prophets.

On September 7, 1904, a gathering of protesting Gentiles was held, and a committee of five Republicans and five Democrats was appointed. The duty of the committee consisted of outlining the future policy of those who were opposed to the perpetuation of polygamy, and to the political control of the Mormon hierarchy. Following is the committee's report:

"Whereas, an experience of fourteen years since the first material sign of the abatement of troubled conditions here was seen in the promulgation of the Woodruff manifesto, has shown that the promises made were crafty and insincere; that the sought-for division of the people on party lines was not carried out in good faith; that both party organizations have been dominated and used for the double purpose of maintaining an ecclesiastical control which had no regard for either, and of preventing remonstrance or opposition by those who favor the free exercise of individual judgment and preference in political affairs; and,

"Whereas, repeated experiences, emphasized by events just past, have fully proved that this ecclesiastical dominance is all powerful and persistent, and that it cannot be shaken off so long as those who oppose it are divided into hostile camps, but on the contrary since such division of the friends and supporters of American institutions, their voices are stifled, and the hands are strengthened of the crafty manipulators of the church power and its application to political affairs; therefore, be it resolved,

"(1) That we will no longer play into the hands of the church leaders by a division, which simply panders to their desires and purposes.

"(2) That we will repel with every means at our command the intrusion of ecclesiasticism into politics or the affairs of state.

"(3) That we refuse to merge Utah affairs in any national party action, since the division thus created paralyzes every effort to Americanize the State.

"(4) That so far as affairs here are concerned, any division on party lines is a sham and a farce, every pledge of the ecclesiastical power to refrain from direction in the political affairs of the people having been shamelessly violated; every pretense of letting politics alone a shameful and shallow mockery.

"(5) That we will never cease to demand the complete freedom of political affairs, untouched by any taint of apostolic control, that we demand the complete separation of church and state, in fact as well as in name, and that we will repel to the utmost all efforts to perpetuate the ecclesiastical control of public affairs in Utah.

"(6) That the public schools are the especial pride of the American people; we resent the grasping domination of the ecclesiastical power therein, and pledge ourselves to shake it off at the earliest possible moment. Church control of the schools must go.

"We disclaim most emphatically and positively any desire or purpose to attack any church or to assail any one's religious sentiments or church affiliations; our purpose is as set forth herein, and no other.

"Appealing to all fair-minded citizens of Utah to sustain us in this, our righteous purpose, definitely, surely and forever to separate church and state, and asking in this the support of every lover of American institutions, we declare the occasion for this to be timely and the provocation repeated and extreme. Come with us, and let us redeem the State."

The doctrines and policies embraced in the foregoing report formed the basis of the local American party which was organized at a magnificent assemblage of Salt Lake City's foremost citizens held in the Grand theatre, September 14, 1904.

The prophets attempted to laugh the new party out of existence. With them it was merely a "tempest in a tea-pot." They charged that it was the work of disgruntled politicians at the head of whom was "Tom" Kearns, who, the Mormon press asserted, had vainly tried to secure "Church influence" for re-election to the Senate. They charged that Senator Kearns had approached

President Smith on that subject and had been promptly and peremptorily turned down. Aside from the merits of the controversy there was involved in the charge a concession of two important points: First, that the chief prophet's influence was potent in the election or defeat of aspiring candidates for political preferment. And second, that Senator Kearns knew that he could not be elected without the consent of the Lord's alleged vicegerent, and that with the prophet's aid the rest was easy.

The Salt Lake "Herald," the Democratic organ, joined with the church forces in the attempt to kill the American party with ridicule. The new party had stolen the guns and all the ammunition of the Democrats so far as opposition to church influence was concerned. Another cause of grievance was that, with the exception of Judge O. W. Powers and one or two other strong Gentile Democrats, the American party had absorbed the non-Mormon brains of the aggregation of patriots which, during ten years, had been alternately protesting against church-inspired defeats and weeping because of those defeats. The Democrats urged that the American party was a useless political appendage; that if, to them, church influence in politics had become unbearable they should have joined the Democratic party and aided in the extirpation of those political wrongs.

Aside from the fact that Republicans could not, consistently, affiliate with Democrats on any question other than that of church and state, the Democratic party had repeatedly proved that it lacked the courage to push the war "into Africa." Under those conditions, there was but one course to take—the organization of a party into which all voters, irrespective of politics, creed or color, could enter and fight for the attainment of a common object. Boiled down, the American party's platforms demand the elimination of the hierarchy from politics and the public schools, and obedience to the laws against polygamy.

On August 22, 1905, the American party committee organized for the city campaign of 1905. J. E. Darmer was elected chairman and S. P. Armstrong secretary of the central committee. There was a great deal of work done by the committee during the next thirty days, and on September 22 primaries were held. On Tuesday, September 27, the city convention was held and a full city ticket, headed by Ezra Thompson for mayor, was nominated.

As the campaign advanced the prophets saw that the election would be close. A careful canvass of the city proved to them that many Gentile Republicans who yet remained in the party would not support W. J. Lynch, the Republican nominee for mayor, and without that aid he would be hopelessly beaten at the polls. The real fight, therefore, would be between Richard P. Morris and the American nominee. Morris was then serving as mayor, and had been elected because of his great personal popularity, many Gentile Republicans having voted for him.

At the last moment, a quiet attempt was made by the prophets to transfer sufficient votes to Morris in the hope of saving the city from the hated "Americans," but it was too late for effective work.

The election returns were: Thompson, 8456; Morris, 7797; Lynch, 4985. The Americans had won by a snug plurality. And the showing was remarkable for a party that was not fifteen months old. It was the first victory for political liberty in Utah since the disbandment of the Liberals in 1893.

The only interest that former Senator Kearns had in the campaign or in the election was that of a private citizen. Yet, during the past four years, he has been the recipient of more senseless abuse from the Mormon and pro-Mormon press and speakers than any hundred men in Utah.

The American party had its origin in the outraged feelings of American citizens whose patience was exhausted, and who declined to longer play into the hands of a law-defying band of priests who had proved to all the world that their "faith and honor" was as deceptive as the fateful desert mirage. The Gentile residents had aided them in their hour of need. They had believed in and trusted them, and for their reward had received ingratitude and treachery.

CHAPTER LVII

SYNOPSIS OF POLITICAL EVENTS—1904 TO 1909

The objective point of this volume has been reached and passed, and it merely requires a brief synopsis of the events of a very short period to complete the story of the political perfidy of the Mormon prophets. The general public would not be interested in the details of the struggle for political supremacy which was waged in Utah between the leaders of the Mormon Church and the American party during the years 1906, 1907 and 1908. Therefore, only a few general facts need be given.

The determined onslaughts of the American party on the political power, and the polygamous practices, of the prophets each year, served to force the latter further into the open, until, in the campaign of 1908, the "holy men of Israel" were compelled to throw off their masks and, through their agents, the stake presidents, to advise the Democratic Saints to vote the Church-Republican ticket in order to save Salt Lake County and the third judicial district from capture by the Americans. The Sabbath meetings of the Saints were transformed into political pow-wows, and the pulpits became rostrums from which inspired anathemas were hurled against the "enemies" of the Saints. Under the directions of the stake presidents, the Mormon bishops marshaled the host of "block teachers" who made house-to-house visits and labored with the Democratic Saints, urging them to vote the Church-Republican ticket on pain of being branded as "apostate" if they failed to do their duty in the hour of Zion's greatest need. Not only was the entire church machinery used in the interest of the church party, but inflammatory and libelous tracts were issued by the thousands and of which venerable Mormon high priests became the street-corner vendors for the "welfare of Zion." The burden of those political sermons, speeches and tracts was that: "If the American party is successful, our leaders (the polygamous prophets) will be sent to the penitentiary or suffer banishment from the State."

Amid the darkness, bitterness, fanaticism and heartburnings of the campaign of 1908 a few bright lights gleamed with the steadfastness of real American manhood. Such stalwart Mormon-Democrats as Judge William H. King, James H. Moyle and Brigham H. Roberts entered the contest and attempted to turn back the ebbing tide of Democracy. With impassioned eloquence and unanswerable logic those courageous Mormons pointed out the suicidal policy of destroying the political alignment of the Mormon people; that such an event would revive the ancient Mormon and non-Mormon fight in Utah with all the old-time bitterness and hatred, and because of which the entire State would suffer irreparable injury. As a regard for their unselfishness and patriotism in attempting to save the prophets from the well-earned charge of political treachery, and the Mormon people from the consequences of their contemplated folly, those men were openly branded as "apostates" and traitors to their church.

The efforts of the men just named, and of Judge O. W. Powers, who, as a Gentile Democrat, ably and eloquently voiced the sentiments of his Mormon coadjutors, were futile. The election returns proved that the once strong and virile Democracy of Salt Lake County had been reduced to the total of 4,237 votes, of which fully 2,000 were cast by non-Mormons!

Through his enormous Federal patronage Apostle-Senator Smoot built up an impregnable machine composed of truculent office-seeking Mormons and worse Gentiles. And through such agencies the Mormon prophets now politically rule Utah with as much certainty as to results as did any of the old-time despots rule their kingdoms and empires.

Out of the sixty-five members of the State legislature, the Church-Republicans elected sixty-one. In fact, the "sob-squad" of the Church-Democratic party, after the election of 1908, was so badly dazed that it lacked the energy to utter its familiar annual wail because of "church influence" in politics.

This chapter should not close without mention of the legislative farce of "electing" Apostle Reed Smoot to succeed himself as United States Senator from Utah. During January, 1909, Republican members of the legislature held a caucus on the matter of electing a United States Senator. Other than Apostle Smoot no candidate had been mentioned for the position of Senator. But, in order that a show of competition might be made, and to "save the faces" of the Lord's chief vicegerents, a member of the caucus nominated ex-Governor Heber M. Wells, who received three or four complimentary votes. But in joint session, the agent of the Mormon hierarchy received the full sixty-one Republican votes for Senator, as against the entire (two) Democratic votes for Judge William H. King. And thus was the political rule of the prophets double-padlocked on Utah for another six years.

AWAKENING OF THE PROPHETS

As a matter of justice to the Gentiles of Salt Lake City—the Gentiles of the American party—it is necessary to trench on a subject that is more than distasteful.

The Gentiles of the American party, as the reader will doubtless remember, were branded as "gamblers, patrons of vice and crime and lewd women" by President Joseph F. Smith.

Any man who knows anything of the moral conditions prevailing in Salt Lake City, and especially along that forty rods known as Commercial street, prior to the accession of the American party to municipal control, knows that gambling and sexual immorality were rampant.

From 1847 to 1890 Salt Lake City was under the absolute control of the Mormon hierarchy. And at no time during those forty odd years was any serious effort made by the prophets to check the increasing immorality of Saints and sinners. Occasionally the prophets rubbed their eyes and kept awake long enough to hurl the usual stock-in-trade epithets at the Gentiles because of their alleged responsibility for the gross, open and shameless immorality of Commercial street and other localities.

After the division on political lines, the immoral element became a political factor with which each of the church parties, by and with the consent of their "inspired" masters, openly negotiated.

Numerically the church parties were, for a time, about equal, and each party bid for the votes of the gamblers and prostitutes by letting them severely alone.

Thus it was that Commercial street became a very hell of vice and crime, and so continued until purified, so far as possible, by the American party.

During several years prior to the first victory of the American party not less than six wide-open gambling hells were running full blast on Commercial street and nearly a like number of other dens were wide open in other portions of the business district. Each night those breeding places of crime, poverty and wretchedness were filled to almost overflowing with men of all ages, many of the patrons being under age. Mormon policemen were often present in the dens and viewed with spiritual and complacent interest the numerous machines and devices for separating weak-minded men and youths from their money. Each Saturday night the heads of scores of needy families passed their earnings over the sure-thing tables to the gamblers.

One instance of the results of those heaven-protected games came under my personal observation. A young Mormon, the husband of a lovely and loyal wife, took his first lesson in gambling in those Mormon-controlled dens on Commercial Street. The young Mormon added the vice of drunkenness to that of gambling. His father paid several thousand dollars in liquidation of debts that, if known to the public, would have disgraced his son. The young man's mother, a woman whose adult life had been embittered by the special curse of Mormonism, was crushed by the added sorrow and during several years was almost a nervous wreck. What is believed to be a lasting reform has, by the aid of relatives and friends, been effected in the young Mormon. No thanks are, however, due those who could have stamped out the evil. One of those who labored without ceasing to rescue the victim from himself is execrated as an "apostate," and, with the exception of his immediate family, his other real friends were not Mormons.

The foregoing is but one instance in hundreds of those who entered on the path of crime—a path patrolled by the agents of alleged prophets!

During every one of the last thirty years of the reign of the prophets many Salt Lake saloons and some of the cafes had wine-room auxiliaries into which women were freely admitted. And the back doors of nearly every saloon in Salt Lake were as wide open on the Sabbath as were the front doors on every other day of the week.

Another fact well known to every male resident of Salt Lake is that for open, undisguised sexual infamy and rottenness there was no section of like area on earth that could surpass Commercial street when under the exclusive control of the agents of the prophets. Nightly that street was lined with painted women—women who, except for the depravity of men, might have become ideal wives and mothers. From a hundred doorways and windows those half-clad unfortunates, white and black, accosted the passers-by, and that, too, in the presence of Mormon policemen. Hundreds of Mormon youths, even boys, nightly paraded Commercial street and there received their first lessons in vice and crime. During the semi-annual Mormon conferences, hundreds of young men from the country came to Salt Lake, having no other motive than, with wide-open-mouthed wonder, to look upon, and often to embrace, the wickedness of this modern "Zion"! And the buildings which sheltered those outcasts are largely owned by Mormon high churchmen.

In contradistinction to the prophets' policy of encouraging, fostering and protecting the gamblers and prostitutes, the first act of the victorious American party was to close the gambling dens and force the proprietors to seek other fields for exploitation. And those dens are still closed.

The next move on the part of the party of reform was to compel the fallen ones to hide their shame from the public. Except for the red gleam of the danger signals that escaped from behind closed blinds, the stranger within the gates of Zion would not have known of his close proximity to the social evil.

With sentimentalism to the rear, and practical common sense to the fore, there would be a unanimous verdict that it is better to quarantine and control the social evil which, as long as mortals exist, cannot be exterminated. Isolation and strict police surveillance would lessen its effects upon the moral atmosphere, and would minimize the degrading physical effects upon the innocent and unsuspecting. And this was apparently what the American party had in view when it banished those unfortunates from the streets.

During the campaign of 1908 the prophets had another of their semi-centennial spasms of affected morality. And, as usual, the outburst was prompted by chemically pure selfishness.

As before indicated the result of the county and judicial election of 1909 was doubtful. And in order to strengthen the waning influence of the Church-Republican party, the deputy sheriffs, under one of the prophets' most trusted and servile tools, raided Commercial street and drove the hapless women to shelter in the numerous apartment and rooming houses, which has resulted in a moral and physical pestilence.

ANOTHER AWAKENING

After a nap of more than sixty years, the Utah prophets, spurred to unwilling activity by the reform measures of the American party, suddenly awoke to the fact that if they expected to longer pose as the especial champions of temperance they must do something besides "pointing with pride" to their past record in that respect, and with charging the "ungodly" Gentiles with having imported to Zion all the wickedness that, during more than a half century, has reveled among the "Saints of the Most High." Like giants refreshed by long and undisturbed slumber, the "Lord's anointed" tackled the new question with all the vigor and enthusiasm of new converts. The prophets selected Apostle Heber J. Grant as their agent and "mouthpiece." The reader will remember Apostle Grant as the one prophet who was "set apart" as a Democratic hoodoo with a special mission to create trouble for that party. Apostle Grant fairly "pawed the earth," and made the helpless air vibrate with his inspired brays against the newly discovered evils of intemperance. Nothing short of statewide prohibition would satisfy the insatiable ambition of the prophets to prevent the Saints from guzzling any more Gentile beer and whiskey. Once more the prophets' brains seemed to have been pierced by a glint of mortal wisdom in that it would require man-made laws to compel the Lord's chosen people to become really and truly the "Saints of the Most High."

In order that Apostle Grant might have more influence with the Gentile members of the Legislature, he made the unnecessary announcement that he was no longer a Democrat. That announcement, while somewhat overdue, lifted a mighty incubus from the remains of the Utah Democracy, and added immeasurable importance and terror to the holy apostle's hysterical threat to "dig political graves" for those members of the Legislature who might dare to use their own brains in preference to the inspired "grey matter" of the prophets, who had slept on the temperance question three times as long as the nap credited to Rip Van Winkle.

While the Mormon leaders were apparently preparing for a campaign for temperance the minions of satan were preparing for a rear-end collision with the new-fangled hobby of the prophets. But before dealing with the subject it will be instructive to again recur to the historic attitude of some of the leaders of modern Israel on the question of temperance.

It has been pointed out that the modern brand of dispensers of heavenly information is even worse, so far as their record in the whiskey business is concerned, than their predecessors in office. In the old days there was no direct effort to sanctify the booze business or to compromise the Lord by selling whiskey in his name. "Forty rod" is now dispensed under the ægis: "Holiness to the Lord," and under the sign: "Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution." And President Joseph F. Smith is the official head of that company.

The gambler says: "If I don't win the fools' money, some one will." The prostitute says: "If the fools don't patronize me some one else will get the trade." The ordinary booze merchant says: "If I don't sell whiskey some other fellow will make drunkards and get the dough." The chief prophet of modern Israel says: "If he (the Mormon) could not get it (whiskey) there, he would not patronize the Z. C. M. I. at all, but would go somewhere else to deal." In the same sermon the self-righteous Joseph F. Smith asks: "Has it (whiskey) ever injured me in any sense of the word because Z. C. M. I. drug store kept liquor for sale? Have I been under the necessity of guzzling liquid poison? Have I made myself a sot because liquor was kept for sale by Z. C. M. I.? I am not the worse for it, thank the Lord. And who else is? No one, except the pious Mormons (?), who in the open day or under the cover of night would go into the drug store and buy liquor to drink." (See official report of sermon by Joseph F. Smith, April 6th, 1898.)

Apostle Reed Smoot is the proprietor of a whiskey dispensing drug store with a "blind pig" behind the prescription case.

Let Apostle Heber J. Grant, honest, if fanatical, condemn the rank hypocrisy of the whiskey-selling prophets:

"I thank God that no man who deals in or in any way handles liquor can be in good standing in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and that the benefits of those in such good standing cannot accrue to such liquor dealers." (Sermon in Tabernacle, March 15th, 1908.)

PROPHETS AND WHISKEY RING IN POLITICAL DEAL

Even the well-known ungodly conduct of those prophets who dispense revelations and whiskey with equal facility and piety hardly prepared the Saints and sinners of Zion for the startling denouement that they, the prophets, had been committed to a deal entered into by their servile agents, the "federal bunch," whereby the brewers and whiskey dealers of Salt Lake and Ogden had paid into the Church-Republican campaign fund the sum of forty thousand dollars for the dual purpose of saving Salt Lake County and the judicial district from capture by the American party, and, incidentally, of course, to defeat Heber J. Grant and a few other sincere leaders of the church in their fight for prohibition! Yet, such was the fact, a fact well known throughout Utah, a fact that was freely discussed in the public press, and which was not denied by either the brewers or the "federal bunch." There is no charge that the Mormon leaders had foreknowledge of the infamous transaction, but there is abundant evidence that they silently accepted the political benefits derived from that liberal donation of forty thousand dollars. Those same prophets are the masters of Apostle Reed Smoot, and Smoot is the boss of the "federal bunch." It was to Reed Smoot that William Spry, United States marshal; E. H. Callister, collector of internal revenue; H. E. Booth, U. S. attorney, and Arthur L. Thomas, postmaster of Salt Lake City, were indebted for their appointments. James H. Anderson, clerical flunkey to Marshal Spry, and who is known to the reader as "Fussy Jimmy" Anderson; J. U. Eldridge, since elevated to director of the mint, Salt

Lake City, and a number of other place-seeking agents of the hierarchy, were ex-officio members of the "federal bunch" and every one of them a servile tool of the prophets under the personal direction of Apostle Smoot.

It would be nonsensical, as well as useless, on the part of the prophets to deny responsibility for the infamous "whiskey deal." They have the ecclesiastical prerogative, if not the inclination, to discipline Apostle Reed Smoot for his part of that unsavory trade. One sentence from Joseph E. Smith to Reed Smoot would have set in motion the force that would have compelled the latter to be decent and honest in his political methods. But, except for the honest raving of Apostle Grant, no "inspired" voice was heard in defense of prohibition, nor in protest against the corrupt and brazen religio-political crime.

Apostle Smoot denied being a party to the deal, but spoke no word in protest or in repudiation of the trade entered into by his corrupt and servile tools—the "federal bunch."

During the legislative session just ended, some of the legislators made a determined and, it is believed, honest effort to pass a prohibitory act, but the influence of Smoot and the "federal bunch" was against them.

The brewers and saloon men had paid a generous price to the leaders of the Church-Republican party for a two years' license to continue their business, and the prophets could hardly repudiate a deal that saved Salt Lake County and the judicial district from the control of the "patrons of vice and crime"—the American party.

During the session of the Legislature, President Joseph F. Smith made it convenient to visit the Sandwich Islands, and with the hope, doubtless, of escaping criticism because of his silent partnership in the shameful "whiskey deal," and to avoid any charge of "interfering in politics" by using his influence on the side of temperance. His sudden and unexpected sensitiveness on that subject, was, however, overworked. Even the Saints were familiar with his treacherous political work and with his equally insincere temperance record. And no amount of twisting, squirming and villainous subterfuge will aid the "prophets, seers and revelators'' to escape the charge of being particeps criminis to the most disgraceful deal ever consummated in Utah.

It is with profound regret that we are finally compelled to say ''farewell'' to the slickest and smoothest aggregation of ''prophets'' that has existed since counterfeiting became a scientific and profitable profession.

THE END.

complete 3-1-20